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is consecrated to the powers; it soars near their abode and is a medium of communication between them and man. 796*

The woodpecker's head was fastened near the mouthpiece end of the feathered stem, the upper mandible turned back over the red crest and painted blue. This treatment of the upper mandible had a double significance. The red crest, which rises when the bird is angry, was here held down; it must not rise. The blue paint represented the clear, cloudless sky. The woodpecker has the favor of the storm gods and can avert from man the disaster of tempest and of lightning. The owl feathers were tied near the middle of the feathered stem. This bird has power to help and protect during the night. Soft blue feathers were fastened around the mouthpiece end. These blue feathers symbolized the clear sky, and it is this end which was always upward toward the abode of the powers. 778 [821 822 825]

The other end of the stem was thrust through the breast, neck, and mandibles of the duck. It was by this end that the feathered stem was held. The duck is familiar with the pathless air and water and is also at home on the land, knowing its streams and springs. It is the unerring guide.

The red and white streamers represented the sun and the moon, day and night. These were made of red cloth and dyed horsehair and white cotton cord, but it is said that formerly soft deerskin strips painted red and twisted hair from the white rabbit were used. [822]

The other feathered stem, Rahak'takaru (plate LXXXVII, page 40), differed from the first feathered stem already described in two particulars, namely, it was painted green, to symbolize the earth, and the fan-shaped pendant was made of seven tail feathers from the white eagle (the young brown or golden eagle; see page 288). This eagle was not consecrated. It represented the male, the father, the warrior, and the defender. This feathered stem was carried by the Ku'rahus's assistant, and it was never allowed to be next to the children; its place was always on the outside. There, it was explained, it could do no harm, could rouse no contention, but would serve to protect and defend. [822]

I have many times remarked the reverence felt toward the feathered stems. Their sacred character seemed always to be remembered and they were never handled carelessly. During the entire time that I was engaged with Tahirûsawichi on this ceremony he never allowed the feathered stems to be placed on the floor or laid on a chair; they were always carefully deposited on the wildcat skin with a decorum that was not once abated. I have seen manifested among the tribes not only reverence toward these sacred symbols, but an affection that was not displayed toward any other objects. Few persons ever spoke to me of them without a brightening of the eyes. "They make us happy," was a common saying.

They were preserved intact and passed from tribe to tribe as long as they held together, and they were sometimes freshened and 778 778 796*

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a path would be strewn with drops of fat. Red is the color typical of life. The ointment signified a prayer for abundance and life.

The wildcat skin (plate XC, page 48) served as a covering for these objects when they were to be wrapped up and it was always spread on the ground for them to rest on.

The significance of the wildcat in this ceremony is of peculiar interest. This animal, we are told, never misses his prey, never fails to attain the object of his pursuit, and accomplishes this end quietly, tactfully, without arousing antagonism. From conversations with the Ku'rahus it became clear that it was these qualities and not the savageness and stealthly cruelty of the animal that were to be kept in mind. To be able to accomplish a purpose without offending, without raising opposition, seems to have been regarded as the special attribute vouchsafed by Tira'wa to the wildcat. It is because of this attribute that it was chosen to be always with the sacred objects during this ceremony. The sacred objects symbolized not only an appeal from man to certain powers, but the presence of the powers themselves, while the nature of the appeal, a desire for children, long life, and plenty, was such that the enjoyment of the benefits craved must depend largely on the successful exercise by man of those qualities which were regarded as characteristic of the wildcat. So the skin of the wildcat was the cover of the sacred objects when they were wrapped up; it was spread on the ground as their guard and support when they were laid at ceremonial rest, and when they were carried about the lodge during the ceremony it was borne by the chief, who walked between the Kurahus and his assistant, each of whom held a feathered stem.

Only a chief could carry the wildcat skin and the ear of corn. Therefore, if the Father was not himself a chief he had to secure the service of one in order that the wildcat could be borne by a man possessing the authority of a ruler in the tribe. As the wildcat stood for the ability to accomplish a purpose with tact and without exciting opposition, qualities essential to the successful ruler, it would seem that the imperative association of the wildcat with a chief was intended to convey the idea that only under the administration of such a man could the tribe have internal peace and enjoy the abundance and prosperity represented by Mother Corn.

As every article belonging to the ceremony and the position and movements of those who conducted the rites had a special significance, the position given to the wildcat, as explained by the Kurahus, reveals the mind of the native in regard to this animal, which figures conspicuously in other rites and ceremonies, and which controls one of the sacred shrines of the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

TIME OF THE CEREMONY

There was no stated time for the performance of the Hako ceremony. It was not connected with planting or harvesting, hunting, or war, or any tribal festival. The Ku'rahus said, "We take up the Hako in

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74 Ha'areri, 'hare! I'hare re! Ha'areri. All the words are translated above. See lines 72 and 73.

75 Hure-e! An abbreviation of the word haurue, coming from above. The vowel changes and prolongation are for greater ease in singing and also for euphony.

76, 77 See lines 74, 75.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The color green represents Toharu (Vegetation), the covering of Ha'U'raru, Mother Earth. As we sing, we ask that life be breathed into the symbol, that it may have power as we use these sacred articles. "Ha'areri" is a prayer that living power may be where we place this symbol of the covering of Mother Earth. We remember as we sing that the power of Mother Earth to bring forth comes from above, "Hure-e."

The Ku'rahus paints the groove red in the same way, for the same reason as on the other ash stick, and when he has finished he hands the green stem back to the man on his right, toward the south, who holds it.

The Ku'rahus rubs upon his hands the sacred ointment which has been made by mixing red clay with fat from a deer or buffalo that has been consecrated to Tira'wa. He is now ready to tie the symbolic articles upon the two painted stems.

He splits long feathers, taken from the wings of an eagle, and glues them to each stem as feathers are glued upon the shaft of an arrow. He uses for this purpose pitch from the pine tree. These wing feathers are to remind us that the eagle flies near to Tira'wa.

About one end of the stem (the mouthpiece) he fastens soft blue feathers, in color like the sky where the powers dwell. He ties a woodpecker's head on the stem near the mouthpiece and turns the upper mandible back upon the red crest. The mandible covers the red crest and keeps it from rising. This shows that the bird may not be angry. The inner side of the mandible, which is exposed by being turned back upon the crest, is painted blue, to show that Tirawa is looking down upon the open bill as the spirit of the bird travels along the red groove to reach the people.

About the middle of the stem the Ku'rahus binds feathers from the owl. The other end of the stem he thrusts through the breast, neck, and mandibles of the duck, the breast reaching to the owl feathers. The end of the stem protrudes a very little through the bill of the duck, so that the bowl of a pipe could be fitted to it. The duck's head, therefore, is always downward, looking toward the earth and the water.

All the birds on the stems are leaders: the eagle is chief of the day; the owl is chief of the night; the woodpecker is chief of the trees; the duck is chief of the water.

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When we have finished singing this song the Ku'rahus takes one of the plum-tree sticks, which has been anointed with red clay mixed with fat, and ties on it with a thread of sinew a downy eagle feather. This stick is bound to the ear of corn so as to project a hand's breadth above the tip end, letting the downy feather wave above Mother Corn. This feather represents Tira'wa. It is always moving as if breathing. 796* [284]

The Ku'rahus then binds the other plum-tree stick to the corn so that it extends below the butt. When the corn is placed in ceremonial position this end of the stick is thrust in the ground so that the ear will stand upright without touching the earth. Both sticks are bound to the ear of corn by a braided band of hair taken from the head of a buffalo. The braided band signifies the gift of animal food and the provision of skin clothing. (The Skidi band of the Pawnees ties a bit of buffalo wool, such as is shed by the animal in the spring, together with a braid of sweet grass, to the ear of corn.) [184]

The two gourd rattles, which represent the squash given us by Tira'wa, and also the breasts of the mother, are each painted with a blue circle about the middle, with four equidistant lines from the circle to the bottom of the gourd. The circle represents the wall or boundary of the dome of the sky; the four lines are for the four paths at the four directions down which the powers descend. No song is sung while this painting is being done.

All the sacred articles are laid at rest on a wildcat skin when they are not being used ceremonially, and it is a cover for them in which they are all wrapped together at the close of the ceremony. The skin is never tanned, and the ears of the animal, the skin of the head, the feet, and the claws must all be intact. [281]

Tira'wa made the wildcat to live in the forest. He has much skill and ingenuity. The wildcat shows us that we must think, we must use tact, and be shrewd when we set out to do anything. If we wish to approach a person we should not do it bluntly; we should not rush at him; that might offend him so that he would not receive us or the gifts we desired to offer him. The wildcat does not make enemies by rash action. He is observant, quiet, and tactful, and he always gains his end. 773 [576] 805

In this ceremony we are to carry the sacred articles to one not of our kindred in order to bind him to us by a sacred and strong tie; we are to ask for him many good gifts, long life, health, and children, and we should receive gifts from him in return. If we would succeed we must learn of the wildcat, and be wise as he is wise.

The wildcat is one of the sacred animals. A man who killed a wildcat could sacrifice it to Tira'wahut. The man who brought such an offering had the right to ask the priest to teach him some of the mysteries that belong to the sacred shrine. 825 782 794

Many years ago two men took the Hako to the Omaha tribe. On the journey one of them killed a wildcat. I said to the man: "I am

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glad Mother Corn is here leading us, and the wildcat goes with the Hako." But the man who killed it said: "No, this skin will not go with the Hako! I am going to take it to the priest for sacrifice that I may learn some of the mysteries." But he did wrong and suffered for it, because that wildcat belonged with the Hako, for it was killed while we were being led by Mother Corn.

The sacred articles having been completed are now laid at ceremonial rest. The wildcat skin is spread upon the earth in the holy place, which is in the west part of the lodge opposite the entrance, a little way back from the fireplace. The head of the skin is placed toward the east; the crotched plum-tree stick is thrust into the ground close to the head; the two feathered stems are laid in the crotch, the brown-eagle stem first, then the white-eagle stem on the top or outside. The eagle builds its nest in the crotch of a tree, so these eagle-feathered stems are laid in the crotch of the plum-tree stick. The ends which are thrust through the duck's head rest upon the wildcat, and under the wing-like pendants the gourd rattles are placed. Directly in front of the crotched stick stands Mother Corn.

PART IV. OFFERING OF SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The time has now come for the offering of smoke to Tira'wa.

The priest of the Rain shrine must be present with the pipe belonging to that shrine and he must conduct the ceremony. After he has filled the pipe with native tobacco the Ku'rahus tells the people that the time has come to offer smoke to Tira'wa, the father and the giver of all things. He selects from the company a man to act as pipe bearer during the ceremony of offering smoke. The pipe bearer must be one who has made sacrifices at the sacred tents where the shrines are kept and has been annointed, and who in consequence has been prospered in his undertakings. The prayers of such a man are thought to be more acceptable to the powers than those of a man who has never made sacrifices.

In old times men did not smoke for pleasure as they do now, but only in religious ceremonies. The white people have taught the Pawnees to profane the use of tobacco.

Each of the sacred shrines of the tribe has a pipe, and its priest knows the proper order in which the pipe should be offered to Tira'wahut. I am not a priest, so I do not know the order in which the Rain pipe is offered, nor can I tell you the ceremony; the knowledge of that belongs to its priest and not to me.

Up to this point (the conclusion of the ceremony of smoking) all the people present have been obliged to remain quiet in their places; now they are at liberty to move about or to leave the lodge.

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Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

539*
796*

The words of the first stanza tell us that Kawas is now hovering overhead in the lodge.

The eagle soars in the skies and can communicate with the powers that are above; so the eagle represents these powers. As we stand facing the east the white-eagle feathered stem, on the right, toward the south, represents brightness, the light, the day, the sun, and it is the male. It is for defense and is carried on the side farthest from the people. The brown-eagle feathered stem, Kawas, is to the left, toward the north; it represents darkness, the night, the moon, and is the female. Kawas is carried nearest the people. Kawas has the right to make the nest and to seek help from Tira'wa for the Children.

[825]

Kawas leads in this ceremony, which is to ask for the gift of children, not only that children may be born to us, but that the tie of parent and child may be established between us and those to whom we are bringing these sacred objects, that peace may be between the tribes, and plenty and long life and prosperity. So we sing that Kawas is hovering in the lodge, as an eagle hovers over her nest.

[842]

This stanza is sung slowly, for the eagle as it hovers is slow in its movements.

Translation of Second Stanza

413 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

414 Kawas tewi kire hera ti rao.
Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the beneficent powers.
tewi, hovering, moving with a slow, circling movement.
kire, starting to fly.
hera, my.
ti, possessive pronoun.
rao, part of the word pirao, child.

415, 416 See line 414.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

796*

We sing the second stanza faster, for now Kawas has stretched her mighty wings and is flying within the lodge, driving away all harmful influences and making the place ready for all the good that is promised to us through this ceremony.

When, on the fourth circuit, the west is reached, we pause and face the east, but we continue to sing until we have repeated this second stanza four times.

As soon as we have reached the west the two doctors with the eagle wings move away, the one with the left wing going by the north and the one with the right wing going toward the south. They raise and lower the wings to simulate the eagle cleaning its nest, flapping and blowing out all impurities. When the doctors meet at the east they

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546 Reshuru tiara i.
Reshuru, the Dawn.
tiara, born.
i, a part of riki, now, present time.
547 See line 544.

539*
796*

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Mother Earth hears the call; she moves, she awakes, she arises, she feels the breath of the new-born Dawn. The leaves and the grass stir; all things move with the breath of the new day; everywhere life is renewed.

This is very mysterious; we are speaking of something very sacred, although it happens every day.

Translation of Third Stanza

548 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
549 H'Kawas si whata i.
h', the symbol of breath, breathing forth life.
Kawas, the brown eagle, representative of the lesser and beneficient powers above.
si, you; a personal pronoun, singular number.
whata, arise, stir, move about.
i, a part of riki, now, the present time.
550 See line 549.
551 See line 546.
552 See line 549.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We call upon Kawas to awake, to move, to arise. Kawas had been sleeping and resting during the night.

Kawas represents the lesser powers which dwell above, those which are sent by Tira'wa atius to bring us help. All these powers must awake and arise, for the breath of the new life of the Dawn is upon them. [776]

The eagle soars where these powers dwell and can communicate with them. The new life of the new day is felt by these powers above as well as by Mother Earth below. [825]

Translation of Fourth Stanza

553 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
554 H'Kawas ta wata i.
h', the symbol of breath, life.
Kawas, the brown eagle, representative of the lesser powers above.
ta, a personal pronoun referring to Kawas.
wata, has arisen.
i, a part of the word riki, now, the present time.
555 See line 554.
556 See line 546.
557 See line 554.

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Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 Ir'Kawas hears the call and awakes. Now all the powers above wake and stir, and all things below wake and stir; the breath of new life is everywhere. With the signs in the east has come this new life.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

558 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
559 Kawas ti waku ka riki.
Kawas, the brown eagle, the intermediary as well as the representative of the lesser and beneficent powers above.
ti, a personal pronoun referring to Kawas, singular number, spoken of.
waku, speaks.
ka, a part of the word akaru, lodge; refers to the space within the lodge about the fire. In this instance ka indicates the holy place set apart for the sacred objects.
riki, standing; the word implies the present time.
560 See line 559.
561 Reshuru tiara i. See line 546.
562 See line 559.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[825] Kawas, the brown eagle, the messenger of the powers above, now stands within the lodge and speaks. The Ku'rahus hears her voice as she tells him what the signs in the east mean.

[821] She tells him that Tira'wa atius there moves upon Darkness, the Night, and causes her to bring forth the Dawn. It is the breath of the new-born Dawn, the child of Night and Tira'wa atius, which is felt by all the powers and all things above and below and which gives them new life for the new day.

This is the meaning of this stanza. The words of the song do not tell all that the song means; the meaning has been handed down from our fathers and taught to the Ku'rahus, who may teach it to anyone who is serious-minded and sincerely desires to learn these sacred things.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

563 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
564 We tatichiri wak ka riki.
we, I.
tatichiri, understand, have knowledge of the meaning.
wak, a part of the word waku, speech, to speak.
ka, a part of akaru, lodge; within the lodge. See line 559.
riki, standing.
565 See line 564.
566 Reshuru tiara i. See line 546.
567 See line 564.

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796*

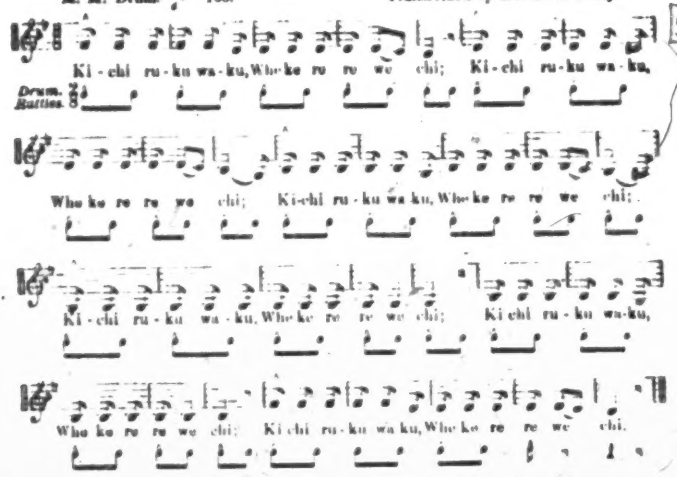
THE SONG OF THE WREN

Words and Music

M. M. Melody. ♩. = 84.
M. M. Drum. ♪ = 108.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[533*]



818 Kichi ruku waku, Who ke re re we chi
819 Kichi ruku waku, Who ke re re we chi
820 Kichi ruku waku, Who ke re re we chi
821 Kichi ruku waku, Who ke re re we chi
822 Kichi ruku waku, Who ke re re we chi
823 Kichi ruku waku, Who ke re re we chi.

Translation

818 Kichi ruku waku, Who ke re re we chi.
kichi, so it; but this one:
ruku, sang.
waku, sound from the mouth, speech.
who ke re re we chi, syllables imitative of the sound of the bird.

819–823 See line 818.

Explanation by the Ku'cahus

[825]
539*
796*
773

The wren is always spoken of as the laughing bird. It is a very happy little bird, and we have stories about it. Every one likes to hear the wren sing. This song is very old; I do not know how old, how many generations old. There are very few words in the song, but there is a story which has come down with it and which tells its meaning.

A priest went forth in the early dawn. The sky was clear. The grass and wild flowers waved in the breeze that rose as the sun threw

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Explanation by the Ku'rahus

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[825]

In the early spring the birds lay their eggs in their nests, in the summer they rear their young, in the fall all the young ones are grown, the nests are deserted and the birds fly in flocks over the country. One can hear the fluttering of a startled flock, the birds suddenly rise and their wings make a noise like distant thunder. Everywhere the flocks are flying. In the fall it seems as though new life were put into the people as well as into the birds; there is much activity in coming and going.

[534]

This song tells of the flocking of birds. We do not use the drum as we sing it, but we blow the whistle. The whistle is made from the wing bone of an eagle. In this song we are singing of the eagle and the other birds, so we use the whistle.

When the eggs are hatched and the young are grown, the birds flock; the promise of young has been fulfilled. In this song, which we sing toward the close of the ceremony, we are thinking of the fulfilling of the promise given by the Hako, that children will be granted to the people, so that they may be many and strong, and we sing that the great flocks are coming.

Translation of Second Stanza

901 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
902 Wera kosha hoshta wiki rira.
wera, they yonder; ra gives the idea that the flock is at a distance.
kosha, flock.
hoshta, the noise made by the birds in flying and in alighting; hosh, the noise; ta, to alight.
wiki, descriptive of the manner of flight. See translation of the word in the first stanza, line 897.
rira, coming.
903 See line 902.
904 Kosha hoshta wiki rira. See line 902.
905 See line 902.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the second stanza we are thinking of the great flocks of birds. The noise of their wings is a mighty noise. As they fly from one tree to another they shake the branches as they alight, and the tree quivers as they rise. The flocks are many and powerful; so, through the promises of the Hako, the people will become many and powerful.

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IV

1280 Ho-o-o!
1281 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri kittawe he!
1282 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri kittawe he!
1283 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri kittawe he!

V

1284 Ho-o-o!
1285 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri ta witshpa ha!
1286 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri ta witshpa ha!
1287 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we ri ta witshpa ha!

Translation of First Stanza

1218 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1219 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re hre kusi hi!
hiri! harken.
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kaokto, down from the eagle.
we, now.
re, am.
hre, holding.
kusi, sitting.
hi! from hiri! give heed!
1220, 1221 See line 1219.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus.

[237] The down represents the high, light clouds (cirrus) in the blue of the sky; they are near the abode of Tira'wa atius.

[825] The down is taken from under the wings of the white eagle. The white eagle is the mate of the brown eagle, and the child is the child of Kawas, the brown eagle. The down grew close to the heart of the eagle and moved as the eagle breathed. It represents the breath and life of the white eagle, the father of the child.

Translation of Second Stanza

1222 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1223 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kaokto we re ru ata ha!
hiri! harken!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kaokto, eagle's down.
we, now.
re, is.
ru, it.
ata, flying.
ha! behold!
1224, 1225 See line 1223.

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Translation

1258 Ho-o-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1259 Ha ware. Hiri-i-i!
ha, yonder.
ware, a part of toware, flying, circling about.
hiri! give heed! harken!
i-i, vowel prolongations.
1260 See line 1259.
1261 Hiri! Irahisi wite.
hiri! give heed! harken!
irahisi, irasi, it is you. The syllable hi is introduced to modify the word so as to conform to the music.
wite, conjecture, surmise.
1262 Hiri! ti'Ak ukai reisi.
hiri! give heed! harken!
h'Ak; h', the sign of breath, life; ak, a part of akaru, a dwelling: h'Ak, the stretch of the earth under the dome of the heavens.
ukai, to put in.
reisi, a modification of irasi, it is you.
1263 See line 1259.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

After the third repeat, the Ku'rahus calls out, "Open a way!" and the warriors who form the line separate at the north and at the south, and the brown-eagle feathered stem is carried through the north opening and the white-eagle feathered stem through the south opening. The white eagle then flies back and forth before the line of warriors guarding the brown eagle as she circles the fireplace.

When the Ku'rahus, carrying the brown-eagle feathered stem, reaches the west he pauses, and then goes to the northwest, near the rim of the fireplace, where he makes a circle with the big toe of his left foot and covers the outline with down. Then he passes to the northeast and makes another circle, marking it also with down; then to the southeast, where he makes a third circle, then to the southwest, where he makes the fourth circle. Meanwhile the song is being sung for the fourth time, and the white eagle is still flying back and forth in front of the line of warriors.

The circle represents a nest, and is drawn by the toe because the eagle builds its nest with its claws. Although we are imitating the bird making its nest, there is another meaning to the action; we are thinking of Tira'wa making the world for the people to live in. If you go on a high hill and look around, you will see the sky touching the earth on every side, and within this circular inclosure the people live. So the circles we have made are not only nests, but they also

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represent the circle Tira'wa atius has made for the dwelling place of all the people. The circles also stand for the kinship group, the clan, and the tribe.

The down represents the light clouds near the dwelling place of Tira'wa—the dome of the sky over the dwelling place of the people—and it stands for the protection of Tira'wa. When there is no down to be had, white ashes can be used. I do not know what the ashes mean, but I think they are to make the outline distinct and to represent the white down.

The nests are four, because at the four directions are the paths down which the powers from above descend. The four winds guard these paths and protect the life of man.

After the four nests are made, the feathered stems are laid at rest.

The Ku'rahus then takes bits of fat which have been preserved from an animal consecrated to Tira'wa and puts them with some native tobacco into an oriole's nest and hands the nest to the chief, who conceals it in his hands.

The bits of fat represent the droppings that mark the trail made by the hunters as they carry the meat home from the field. This trail is called the path dropping fatness, and means plenty. Fat, therefore, stands for the promise of abundant food.

The oriole's nest is used because Tira'wa made this bird build its nest so that no harm could come to it. It hangs high, is skillfully made, and is secure. An eagle's nest may be torn away by a storm, but the oriole's nest sways in the wind and is not hurt.

PART II. SYMBOLIC FULFILLMENT

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Now a robe is spread on the ground and the child is placed on it with his feet and legs projecting beyond the edge. Four men are appointed to carry the child. One goes on each side and takes hold of the robe and lifts it; a man at the back of the child steadies it as it is raised and carried, while the fourth man holds another robe over its feet and legs.

The chief and the Ku'rahus precede the child to the circle at the northwest, where it is held over the nest so that its feet rest within the circle. The chief puts his hands under the robe held over the child's legs and drops the oriole's nest within the circle so that the child's feet rest on it. No one but the chief and the Ku'rahus know what is being done beneath the robe. The chief takes up the nest, concealing it from view, and goes to the circle at the northeast, to which the child has also been carried, and in the same way places its feet on it. The same act is repeated at the circles in the southeast and the southwest.

The child represents the young generation, the continuation of life,

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
-- NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

PRAYER TO AVERT STORMS

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We like to have the sky clear during the time this ceremony is taking place. We do not like to have clouds come between us and the abode of Tira'wa atius, particularly storm clouds. We feel this way because we do not want anything to intercept the prayers of the Fathers or to hinder the descent of the help that we ask for the Children. If, however, clouds arise and a storm threatens, the Children may request this song to be sung, but the Fathers may not volunteer to sing it. 796* 821

After the request for the song has been made, the following ceremony takes place: The Ku'rahus, with the Kawas feathered stem, his assistant with the white-eagle feathered stem, and the chief with the wildcat skin, in which are the crotched stick, the ear of corn, and the sacred pipe, rise from their seats at the west and pass out of the lodge. When they are outside under the open sky, they face the gathering clouds and sing the first stanza four times. While they sing the song and wave the eagle stems to the rhythm of the music, the chief holds the cat skin up toward the storm clouds. He holds it the same way while we sing the second stanza four times.

The words of these stanzas are few, but their meaning has come down to us with the story of the song.

Long, long ago the woodpecker was told by Tira'wa that the lightning would never strike the tree upon which it had built its nest. The four beings at the west who have control of the thunder and lightning would protect the bird, so that it need never fear the storm. 796* 821 825●

The woodpecker which came to the man to whom this ceremony was revealed taught him this song and told him when to sing it. He was to sing it only when the storm threatened; if he sang it at any other time he would bring rain and storm upon the people. 539*

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

Rhythmic Rendition

Take we now the green paint,
Touch with it the stem, the mated stem,
Putting on the emblem, the sacred and living symbol,
Mother earth.
From above descending, bountiful blessings on thee,
Mother earth.

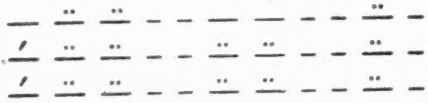
The fan-like appendage of ten brown mottled feathers from the ma- 796*
ture brown eagle are here tied upon the blue stem. This eagle is called 815●
Kawas; it represents the mother. She is the bearer of life from above and shares with the corn the leadership throughout the ceremony.

It is noticeable that the eagle receives the gifts it bears to man through the lesser powers and not directly from Tira'wa atius. Birds are not powers, but messengers, intermediaries between the lesser powers and man. A glimpse is here obtained of the order which natural forces and objects take in the mind of the Pawnee.

The song of this act is in three phrases. The number three is not 533*
symbolized by ceremonial motions; throughout the ceremony songs 796*
accompanying acts which do not imply a direct appeal to the powers above fall into three musical phrases.

THIRD SONG.

Diagram of Time



Rhythmic Rendition

Oh, Kawas, come, with wings outspread in sunny skies! [539*]
Oh, Kawas, come, and bring us peace, thy gentle peace!
Oh, Kawas, come, and give new life to us who pray!

PART III. PAINTING THE EAR OF CORN AND PREPARING THE OTHER SACRED OBJECTS.

The putting of a peculiar design in blue paint on the ear of corn 796*
is replete with symbolism. The ear of corn not only represents a life-sustaining product of the earth, but the omniscience which the earth is believed to possess. This omniscience, predicated of the ear of corn, constituted one of its qualifications to act as leader. The Ku'rahus says (line 118): "Mother Earth knows all places and all that happens among men; therefore the corn which comes from her must lead, must direct us where to go."

The painting of the ear of corn represents the securing of its credentials as leader. The blue paint used on this occasion is not put into a shell, as it was when the stems were colored, but into a wooden bowl. The shape of the bowl, an inverted dome, typifies the arching sky, the blue paint its color (see the explanation of line 83). The design put on the ear of corn signifies its journey to the abode of the powers and its return, with their sanction, as leader.

* Music on page 41.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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contemporary Pawnee informants as to who the originals singers were. According to Joseph Carrion, they were, in the order of their selection and importance, Whitehorse (Pitahawirat[a]), Sam Cover (Skiri), Ezra Tilden (Skiri), Tom Yellowhorse (Skiri), Henry Shooter (Kitkahaxki[x]), Brigham Young (Tcawi), and Jim Keys (Skiri). In addition, however, Carrion corrects himself by agreeing with other informants that Joseph Long was the first of these "crows" selected. Mark Evarts believes that all the original singers belonged to the South Bands, and claims that the first four, after White himself, were Joseph Long, Rubin Wilson, Lester Pratt and White Elk, none of whom are Skiri. The presence of Skiri men in the group of main singers should however be anticipated because all the bands joined in the Ghost Dance under White's leadership. Also, when the Skiri later organized and led their own Ghost Dancing, the singers who were selected by the Skiri to take charge were men who knew the songs because of their earlier participation in the South Band Ghost Dancing, hence some Skiris must have belonged to the original group of singers. The men actually selected to form the organizations of the Seven Eagles and Seven Crows (see below) included several who are mentioned in this list of Carrion's. Those whom Knifechief and Mrs. Washington selected were chosen because they knew the songs.

In addition to face paintings, the early Ghost Dance forms included the use of feathers as hair ornaments. Two types were prominent, eagle feathers and crow feathers. These birds were used because of a definite symbolism which attached to them. Both birds were conceived to fly high and far, and to see and know many things. The Pawnee have always thought of the crow as a bird which finds what it seeks. Hence the crow can help people find what is lost lost beliefs, lost ways of life

In trance visions of the Ghost Dance, the visionary usually found himself associated either with the eagle or the crow, and thereafter wore the feather of one or the other. White wore eagle feathers, and when he constituted the seven men as the official singers, he gave them special crow feathers to wear. White did not himself lead the singing after this, but acted as general director, dancing in the center of the circle and putting subjects into trances.

A story is told of how White and Joseph Long were put to a test in early Ghost Dance days. There was a woman who went to Camp Creek. On the way she lost a strap with which she was going to bind up a load of wood. She wanted to find out if it was true that crows could find things, so she went to the tipi of the leaders and told them about her lost strap. Frank White said, "All right, sit

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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668 796 825 down." Joseph Long had crow feathers. He put them on his head. Then he got up like a crow, and danced around the tipi. Imitating the crow, he danced his way outside and went along the path by which the woman had gone through the timber, and found the strap. He picked it up and brought it back into the tipi, and the woman took her strap.

The relation of this crow-concept to the Ghost Dancing is direct. The crow feather (as also the eagle) is one of the objects used by leaders, as they dance inside the circle, for hypnotizing subjects. It is moved back and forth directly before the eyes of the subject. It helps the dancer to fall into a trance, and this means that it helps the subject to see or find his lost relatives. In the trance-vision itself the bird may guide the visionary to his dear ones. In the same way the old Indian customs, the dances, the songs, the rituals, are found among the deceased people, or recovered in trance visions which are induced in part through the instrumentality of the birds.

In this early use of eagle and crow, those who learned about one or the other bird wore a feather of that bird. There was no organization or orientation of these except for White's seven crow singers. But there came to be felt an opposition between crow and eagle, analogous to the actions of the birds themselves, and this was carried over into the sides of the hand game arrangements. The opposition involved the question of which was abler or luckier in finding things.

668 796 [346] [554] [778] [276] For the Ghost Dance, White arranged to have a large cleared dancing ground. West of this was set up a special tipi. Herein White gathered the people, particularly the leaders. Those who gathered inside the tent were only men. The old men sat near the eastern entranceway on both sides, with the chiefs next to them to the west, and then the braves[1]; while other men present sat about anywhere. White himself would sit with his seven crow leaders at the west facing east. The only sacred objects kept on a covering at the western altar-place were the feathers and paints of the leaders, and several pipes (two or four). Two men were selected by White and the chiefs to act as tarutsius ("fire-tenders") and at the same time as policemen. They carried long sticks to whip the dogs with, driving them away from the dance ground while the dancing went on. They also controlled the dancers. After all the men had gathered, a smoke offering initiated the performance. White gave pipes to two or four chiefs and told them step by step what to do. The performance could begin either in the

[1] These are generic Pawnee patterns.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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about the dance." Carrion, along with John Moses, Jim Keys, Brigham Young and Henry Minthorn went to see Sitting Bull the Arapaho. This was late in 1892, and they stayed there two months.

Carrion told Sitting Bull his story. Sitting Bull got a permit from his agent to Ghost Dance for two days. The Arapaho painted the Pawnee visitors with a rainbow around the forehead, a crow on the right cheek (because, says Carrion, "a crow finds everything he looks for, and when one is under the crow influence one can almost read minds"), and an eagle on the left cheek (which also represents a bird that flies high above everything, sees all and finds things).

That night in the Ghost Dancing among the Arapaho Joe Carrion was overcome and fell unconscious on his back. "I saw a big circle of people above." He awoke about two o'clock at night after lying there for five hours. When he woke up, he found there was a drum beside his head; an old man came over and asked him what he had seen. "Nothing," he said; he didn't want to tell. The old man told him, "you must tell." "I got up and said, 'I don't believe it.' Then he hit a gourd against the ground, and I fell over again. I got up and still said, 'I don't believe it.' so he hit the gourd on the ground and again I fell over. The way he could do this to me convinced me, and when I got up I believed it all. Then I told him what I had seen. He said it was true. The next day the Arapaho were told they would have to stop the Ghost Dancing.

"Two days afterward a boy came with hand game sticks, bringing one round to each tent. He told everybody that there was to be a big hand game at a certain place. It was to last four days, with a Squaw dance afterwards."

The man in charge of the hand game told Carrion to get certain things for himself. He told him that he must fast four days and nights. Carrion wore only a g-string, and painted his body yellow. He neither ate nor drank.

During the playing of the game, he often got thirsty and would be about to take a drink, when someone would remind him that he must not. He was chosen to serve the food, but he was not supposed to partake of it. He also would pass the bucket of water around. The smell of the food helped him, seemed to satisfy his hunger a little. The first night he felt weak and wanted to cry. "They told me to go ahead and cry, that this was the same as going to church."

At sunrise he stood outside the tent and prayed.

"The fourth day I went onto a hill. Behind me there was someone sitting in the grass. I looked at the sun and saw things

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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525 619 "All right now, let's go ahead." Knifechief gets up and gives one bone to a Skiri man; the Kitkahaxki[x] leader rises and gives one to a Kitkahaxki[x] man. In this way the two are selected as guessers for their respective sides.

Now all the players begin to sing and yell. The two guessers are on their feet facing each other. The Skiri hides the bone first, the Kitkahaxki[x] must guess first. The one who wins them gives them out to hide to any two players on his side regardless of where they sit. He picks them because they are clever at hiding the bones, at deceiving the guessers, at confusing them by shifting the bone almost invisibly from one hand to another. The guesser watches closely. He notes the gestures with the hands and arms, the body movements; he watches eyes for a hint.

As soon as one guesser has won the two bones he takes them to his side of the fire to two players. His opponent crosses into enemy territory to follow the trail and find them. His side is quiet now, [516 while the players of the side hiding the bones are all singing and ●825] clapping hands. Some are yelling to frighten the guesser. Others make gestures to confuse him. The hiders imitate some animal in their body movements and the positions of their clenched hands.

[201 He wins them back. At once his side begins to yell with their 533] hands over their mouths, he-e-e-e- in a high loud voice. Then they begin to sing. Old hand game songs, songs caricaturing things and people, funny songs, coarse songs.

To follow the trail of the bones when they are won and carried across to the other side is to trail the enemy. The guesser searches for tracks. A player on the hiding side goes to the fire for handfuls [789] of cold ashes from the fire's edge. He sprinkles it like falling snow. He calls aloud. "The snow covers up the tracks now, you cannot see them."

Thus after an enemy raid in late fall when men started after the retreating warparty to regain captured horses the falling snow obliterated the trail. To the Pawnee the little dramatic act has similar power to obliterate the unseen trail of the bones from hand to hand, to blind the guesser. The guesser shields his eyes with his hand and peers through the falling ashes to see the tracks.

In time to the clapping of hands and the rhythm of singing, the [825] hiders and all the players of that side move their arms and bodies back and forth, back and forth. When they hide some imitate crows, some deer, some buffalo, some turkeys.

The Skiri win the first game. Their side carries off the stakes. 525 Now the Skiri begin to sing Crazy Dog dance songs, songs of 533 reckless bravery, self-abandonment on the warpath. Men careless 619

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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525 points: only two sticks are left in the center. The Kitkahaxki[x] guesser calls out to the leader of his side, "I want him to guess 619 now." He shows them Mark. He says, "You're a good boy; everything you do is lucky. Go ahead."

The Skiri begin to yell. The Kitkahaxki[x] pat Mark on the back and wish him luck.

[789] Mark arises. He goes to the fire and leans forward over it. He touches the ashes and rubs his hands together. He touches fire to his eyes to warm them and make him see clearly. He watches the guessers. He chooses quickly. He finds the bones.

Now the Skiri are trying to confuse him. They yell. They want him to put up the shawl he has with him. He tells them he doesn't have to now. He goes on guessing against the Skiri man who has won two games. The Kitkahaxki[x] players begin to come to life. They win the game.

[533] Now the Kitkahaxki[x] sing the Crazy Dog Dance songs. The Skiri are silent. The Kitkahaxki[x] leader gets up to dance. He tells how he went on a warpath and captured many horses. This time the Kitkahaxki[x] have carried off the spoils.

There is a fourth game. The bets are laid again. The Skiri choose a new guesser. Mark is against him now and wins again.

The games are even. The Kitkahaxki[x] have won back their losings. They decide to stop now. It is late. The Kitkahaxki[x] go home.

Later the Skiri set upon Mark because he played with the Kitkahaxki[x] and won for them. For a long time he couldn't go [578] near the Skiri camp. They would get hold of him and scold him angrily. Mark says he joined the Kitkahaxki[x] side because the man who asked him was a friend of his, and because the Skiri did not give him a place and ask him to join in.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OLD GAME

525 Competitions like the above between the bands of the Pawnee 533 were played in this way in the old days. Women never played. The games were always outdoors. The songs sung were old type hand game songs. They were coarse but not about women. One ran:

"They're bathing in the water now...
They're bathing in the water now..."

All would laugh because of the reference to washing, bringing up a picture of one scrubbing himself all over and around the loins.

525 Those who hid, many of them, imitated animals. Some of these ● 825 imitations:
536

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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Crow: Each hand clasped with index finger erect. The arms are bent so that the hands are held out about shoulder high like wings. The player calls ka-ka-ka like the crow while he motions with his hands back and forth like flapping wings.

Turkey: Right hand clasped, index finger extended, is brought to forehead to imitate the beak; left hand with index finger out is placed behind like tail. The player calls tut-tut-tut like a turkey.

Deer: The hands clasped palm side down, held bent at wrists about waist high, imitating the forefeet; the index fingers are curled down; the arms are moved alternately, gracefully and slowly, forward and back. No sound.

Buffalo calf: Two hands tight shut in fists with thumbs erect: the bottoms of the fists are set to the sides of the head above the ears, the head bent forward, the thumbs moved like little horns, slight motions. The calf makes no noise unless caught, then "br-r-r-rrr."

Buffalo: The two hands clenched at the sides of the head as for calf, but the index fingers erect for larger horns: the head is moved slowly around to one side and another as the animal peers this way and that.

These animal imitations are by some wholly in fun. But those who use a certain imitation usually retain it throughout the play of hand games, and are known as such and such an animal player. And there are some among the players who have the right to characterizations because of their knowledge and power. In the hand game above described, one man who imitated the deer was a deer performer in the Doctor Dance.

The structure of the old hand game comes out clearly in the above narration. The play of the game has been detailed heretofore. Points of significance:

The games were always played outdoors.
Women never participated.
The long fire outdoors with each side in a semi-circle.
The leaders as tallyers at the head end.
The tally sticks in one heap between them.
The betting.
The selection of hiders in any orders.
The attempts to trick and deceive.
The singing of old hand game songs for the play accompanied only by handclapping, without instruments.
The Crazy Dog Dance between the games, danced by the winning side, the winning leader counting a coup.
The animal imitations.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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the luck of visions; and to be assured that one would be saved when the great destruction came, one had to be in touch with the controlling influences of the spirit world, which could be had only through visions.

In the early games, as we saw, the men who played imitated various birds and animals as they played. The belief is that birds and animals play hand games too, even as men. In the Ghost Dance two birds were preeminently the choice of the dancers, the eagle and the crow, because of the known characteristic traits of these birds—their wide, far-flung flights, on which they saw the world below them and everything that went on in it. When you were influenced to fall into a trance because of either of these birds, or when in your trance either of these birds was your guide and helper to find lost relatives and lost ways of life, you became associated with that bird. When in the hand game you played as a "crow" or an "eagle", you played to find out which was luckier, which held promise of the greater good fortune. In the early Ghost Dance hand game days it is said by all that the losers cried desolately and the winners were jubilant. As there never were material stakes for a Ghost Dance hand game, clearly it was nothing won. Bad luck or good luck had been discovered as one's portion. To lose was an ill omen.

An incident by Mark Evarts illustrates the foregoing:

Once at a Ghost Dance game played by Mrs. Washington, Mark held the counter in his left hand. The guesser indicated that hand as his choice, when, as quickly as it was guessed, it seemed to pass to his right hand, and there it was. This, according to Mark, was a sign of good fortune. A while later Mark was given Ridingin's daughter to marry. Goodeagle, the girl's grandfather, told the people at the time Mark was married to the girl, that he had had Mark in mind for a long time. Mark feels that this was what his hand game luck forbode. He considers this connection of the events reinforced by an experience which had occurred to him some time before he played in this hand game of Mrs. Washington's. One time when he was near a creek with a large clump of cottonwoods, an eagle came circling, looked at Mark and went off again. "Now Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle represent two eagles," says Mark. "and that may have been the time they thought about me and considered me." Thus the experience with the eagle is reinterpreted in the light of hand game luck and the good fortune which followed it.

An interesting aspect of the above experience is that Mark considered the fact that the counter changed hands miraculous. Not from Mark did I ever learn that in the old game changing the

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with human scalps, a coiled thong [illegible]ided hide and a bundle of "song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip inclined toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled in the usual manner.

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side. The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however, forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black. The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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*533 *Analysis.*—All the tones of the octave except the sixth and seventh occur in this song, which has a compass of 11 tones and is melodic in structure. It begins on next to the highest tone of the compass and ends on the lowest, which is the keynote. The rhythm is energetic and the phrases with continuously descending trend are somewhat unusual. The change in the tempo of the drum has been described in connection with other songs of this group.

773 In the next song we have an expression of the belief that a bear
● 825 derives his "medicine power" from the sun and that the center of
*533 that power is in his palms. He stands facing the dawn in order that the first rays of the sun may strike his paws, upheld for the purpose. In this manner he renews his power from the sun. (Cf. Song 16.)

An old man named Lata'pĭū, long ago, fell asleep, and when he awoke he saw a strange sight. The sun was rising and a bear was pointing at the sunrise. The old man made this song about his vision and whenever he saw the sunrise he sang the song. Ever since that time the song has been used in the Bear dance.

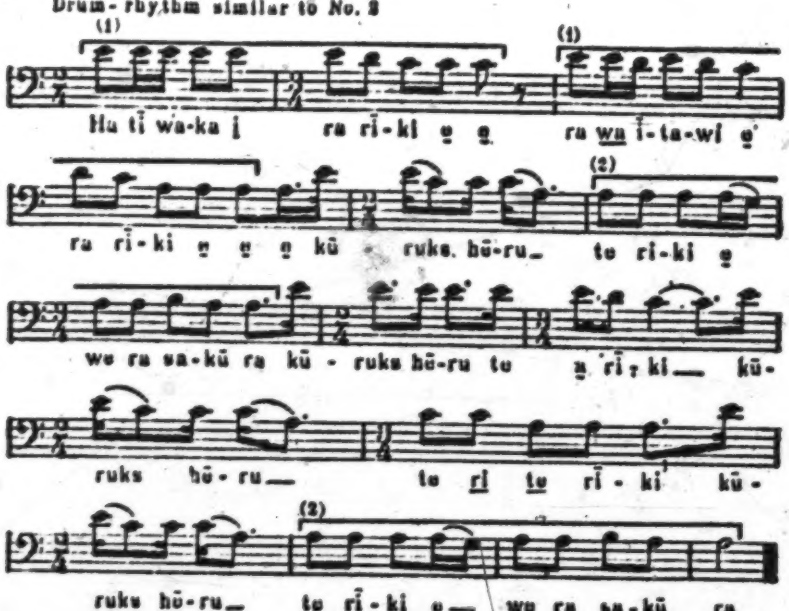
*533

No. 12. "The Bear is Pointing at the Sun"

(Catalogue No. 1119)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 76
Drum ♩ = 132 Changing to ♩ = 76
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 3



3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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The words of the following song (not translated) state that Dog Chief took horns like those of a buffalo and put them on the horse he had captured.

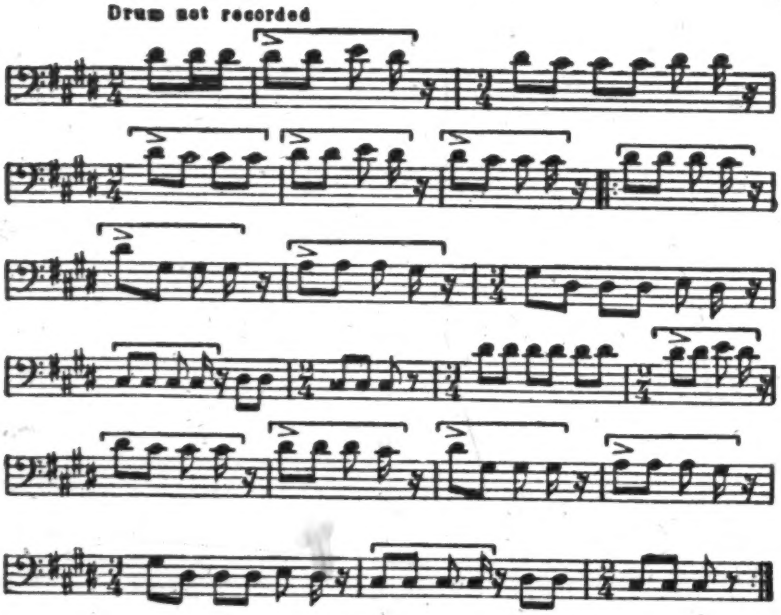
533*
554
825

No. 18. Bear Dance Song (b)

(Catalogue No. 1150)

Recorded by DOG CHIEF

Voice ♩ : 92
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—With the exception of two descending fifths and two descending fourths all the progressions in this song are whole tones and semitones. The first seven measures begin with the same tone, which is also the initial tone in five consecutive measures later in the song. This is next to the highest in the compass. A majority of the melody is on the tones C sharp, D sharp, and E, a few measures being on the tones G sharp and A. Thus the formation of the melody is seen to be based on intervals rather than on a scale or key. The rhythm is accurately repeated in the three renditions. The rhythmic unit is short and the rhythm of the song as a whole is "swung" by the triple measures occurring as measures 2, 9, 12, 18, and 19. It is interesting to note the irregular time spaces at which these triple measures occur. This shows that the rhythm of the entire song is an entity and offers a contrast to songs that consist of three or more distinct periods, each containing the same number of measures.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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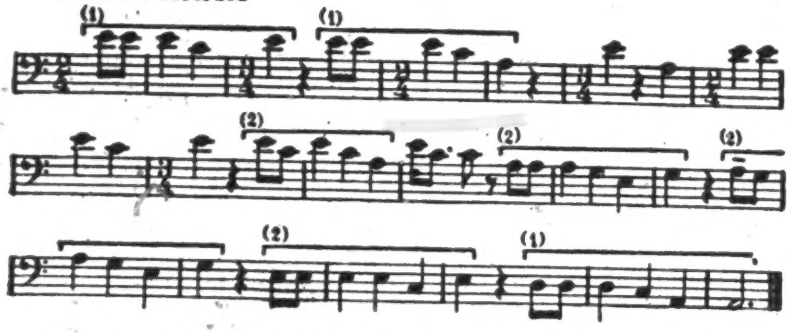
No. 20. Bear Dance Song (d)

Recorded by Dog Chief (Catalogue No. 1151) 533*

Voice ♩ = 168
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—This song is clearly harmonic in feeling, though three measures in the latter part of the song begin with nonharmonic tones. It has a compass of 12 tones and is based on the fourth 5-toned scale. Progression is chiefly by major and minor thirds. Two rhythmic units occur, and a comparison of these units forms the principal interest of the rhythm. Rests occur at the end of each phrase and after a detached tone in the fifth measure. These rests were clearly given in both renditions of the song.

SONGS OF THE DEER SOCIETY 533*

The Wichita Indians are said to have originated this society, which has been discontinued for many years. 575 The dance of the society was held in the autumn when the corn was ripe, and its purpose was "to find out whether a man would be killed when going on the warpath." The dances took place in an earth lodge. A custom of the society, described by James R. Murie, appears to have been a testing of the powers of its members. Mr. Murie said, "These men drank mescal, putting about half a bean in a kettle of water. After drinking it they fell unconscious. An attendant then ran the jaw of a garfish along the man's spine and if he recovered consciousness he was not considered fitted to belong to the society. Members of this society had power over snakes and their dance was allied to that of the Mokis.[1] Each dancer carried a fox skin and held in his mouth a plain bone or reed whistle on which he blew as he danced." There were four singers, each carrying a bow in one hand and a gourd rattle in the other.

[1] [i.e., Hopi. - Analyst]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539 rattles all the time. The Pawnee will hear him and kill us all. Make him stop." But the little snake kept on. He even went beside the road and rattled his rattle very loud.

One day a girl came along the road and the little snake thought she was a chief's daughter. He bit her foot and she turned quickly and crushed his head. The other snakes found him and the brother said, "Father, didn't I tell you that one of us would be killed? There is my little brother with his head smashed." That is the end of the story.

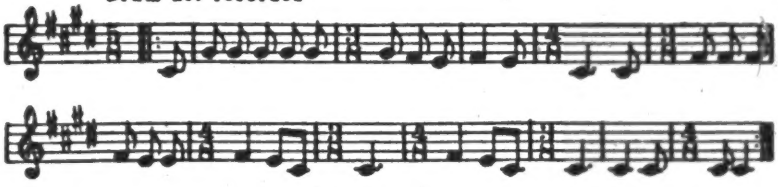
No. 77. The Little Rattlesnake

(Catalogue No. 1077)

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN

*533
539

Voice ♪: 152
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—Six renditions of this song were recorded and the time values in all were as indicated in the transcription. The principal progression in the song is F sharp–E, followed by C sharp. Thus the tone material is practically the minor third and fourth, although the fifth occurs in the opening measure. The song begins and ends on the same tone, which is somewhat unusual in Indian songs.

UNCLASSIFIED SONGS

773 When the Pawnee first saw a horse they were frightened. Some
231 ran away and others said, "I wonder what he is dragging behind
825 him" (referring to his tail). A great crowd of people was looking at the horse. At last someone said, "Why are you afraid of this animal. He is very useful. He can carry you and your packs. You can get on him and he will take you from place to place so that you can kill game." Ever since that time the Pawnee have owned horses, and found that horses could work for them.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

575 One end was lapped over enough to allow the poles to be passed through. In the middle, the cloth was slashed enough to allow for the bearer's hand. Feathers were also placed before the men who were sewing. They took five crow feathers that were equal in length and cut the quills at the ends. When these were ready one of the men made perforations in the cloth with a sharp stick beginning at the top. Then [237] he placed the quill ends of the feathers in the perforations and tied them with sinew. Five swan feathers were attached in the same way. This was done for the full length of the strip, five crow feathers alternating with five swan feathers.

The men on the north side must complete their cloth first, for the north star [821] watches and cares for them, giving them life and feeding them. The people on the south side worked slowly for the south star is the home of the dead. The owl feathers are bunched together and tied at the top of the cloth because they represent the north star who watches over all at night. Owls care for people while they sleep. In olden [825] times, the owls used to warn the people when the enemy was prowling around the camp. The crow feathers were attached first because crows are always the first to find food and they used to help the people to find buffalo. The swan feathers represent those of the thunderbird which is near Tirawahat, the heavens. If an enemy [821] were on the point of attacking the people, thunderstorms would come up and save them. The red cloth signified bloodshed during war. During battle, if the lance bearer stuck the lance into the ground, it was incumbent upon the people to defend the emblem.

After the cloth was ready, the poles were passed through the flaps, tied to a pole, and stuck in the ground, one at the north and the other at the south side, in front of the drummers.

Now, Known-the-leader said: "Knife-chief, Brave-chief, Running-fox, Young-hawk, old men, and young men, our fathers (the lances) are now complete. Our father, the owl is sitting at the top of the pole. The crow and swan feathers are attached. The lances are complete and have taken life. Let us hasten to notify the gods in the heavens that we have completed these emblems that were given to our people long ago to be carried on the buffalo hunt that there should be order. These insignia were to be carried in battle; in peace they were hung on a pole. The buffalo have disappeared, we no longer fight our enemies, peace rules. The gods know this. They will bless us and give us long life. They will bless our fields so that we may have an abundance of food. It is now time to offer smoke to the gods to show that we remember them. I select Knife-chief to offer smoke to the gods in the heavens. Knife-chief will now rise and take the pipe I have filled."

Knife-chief rose and took the pipe which belongs in a sacred bundle. It is very 276 old; the bowl is large; the stem smooth and round and represents the windpipe 575 through which the prayers of the people pass. Knife-chief walked around the fireplace with the pipe, beginning at the south. At the northeast he stopped and the south assistant lighted the pipe with a burning coal. He then walked around the fireplace by the west and then south with the lighted pipe and stopped successively at the south and north entrances and blew smoke in those directions. He next halted at the fireplace and blew smoke on its rim towards the northeast and the northwest. West of the fireplace he stopped and blew smoke southwest and southeast. Then he passed north and stopped at the west facing east. He blew smoke east, west, and then east again. Then he directed smoke towards the heavens; three times to the north, once to the south, faced about and blew smoke west. He turned again and blew towards the ground and the drums.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

575 for war. In fact, this is the society that is called upon to police the buffalo hunt and in this capacity the members conduct themselves as described above. As an organization it is the counterpart of the Skidí two lance society.

The Thunderbird Lance.

The raris kuhat, or thunderbird lance society is found among the Skidí and the Squash Vine people. The following account is from data supplied by the Skidí.

[825] In winter the members procure the thunderbird (in this case the swan, though outsiders are led to believe it to be the eagle) which is skinned by the leader as in the case of the preceding society. The feathers are plucked, leaving the down upon the skin, and with this the lance is wrapped at the renewing ceremony in the spring. This society is never called upon to act [721] as police in the buffalo hunt, but for leadership and defense in war; in this respect whatever was said of the preceding society, applies equally well here. The point of the lance is of flint stone because this stone is believed [821] to be related to the thunders since it is said that such will be found where- [823] ever the lightning strikes Thus, this stone lance head symbolizes the power to strike down a person before he is aware of danger.

As stated before, the trophies of victory may be turned over to this society that they may inaugurate the victory dance and as it progresses, the whole is turned over to the women. In former times, it was the custom for the sexes to mingle freely without restraint and during the dance.

In the Squash Vine village the lances were wrapped with loonskin instead of swan and loon heads were placed on the end of the curved top; also some loon feathers. On the sinew string were soft down feathers. Four old men were taken in to recount the deeds of the members.

The Crow Lance.

The hatuᵇka society was found among each of the four divisions but not in the independent villages. It was everywhere the same, except that the [184] peculiar feature of tying the members together was practised by the Skidí alone. In all cases this society was the last to renew in the spring, disband in the winter, to leave the line of battle, to follow the camp, etc.

The following account applies particularly to the Skidí: —

575 The name usually given this society is hatuᵇka (those coming behind), so named 773 because of their peculiar custom of marching at the extreme rear of the tribal procession. The society is said to have been handed down by the crows but in reality

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

They did not go into a fight until they were told not to; then they simply shot their arrows toward the enemy without taking much aim and then went to get them; or in other words, an idiotic performance. At all times of their lives they did things in reverse order. They never married or had anything to do with women. Whenever strange or mysterious animals were reported which were feared by other people, they would try to kill them. It is said that the society became extinct by all being killed in a battle except one, who afterwards disappeared. There are, however, several different stories as to how they were destroyed. 575

The Wonderful Ravens.

This society of the kaka waruxti, or wonderful ravens, had two undressed lances except for a crowskin hanging near the point. All members, except the pipe-bearer, had the skins of crows upon their backs. All painted black. The founder got the ritual and powers from a raven. There were four singers but no rattle bearers. Their chief function was to be ready for war; they wore the crow because this bird is known to be wary and hence it was believed that the society could foretell attacks. When attacks were predicted the society placed their lances outside against a pole. This was a public warning that precautions should be taken. [302] [825] [787]

The society had a brief existence, as most of them were once killed in battle, the remnants failing to reorganize.

The Big Horse Society.

Among the Chauí there was once an organization known as raris aruskutchu, big horse society. Many of the members bore plain long sticks and all wore caps of foxskin and painted themselves white. There were no drums, but eight singers who beat upon a piece of rawhide with sticks instead of drums. The society was for war, but took the warpath for private forays and never acted as soldiers in any capacity. They became extinct by the loss of most of their members in an engagement. [302]

Society of Crows.

The raris kaka, society of crows, was a lance society. They had two lances with war points and at four places on the shaft a string bearing crow feathers was tied. The members painted black but only on the joints of the body. [302]

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

snake doctors, though demonstrations are seldom made in the regular ceremonies. The members claim absolute immunity from rattlesnake bites and complete power over the reptile himself. They will seize any snake they meet and handle it without fear. No wands or instruments are used, nothing but the hands. The writer has frequently observed snakes handled in this way. According to reports they are able to cure all suffering from snake bites.

Blood Doctors.

There was formerly a group of medicinemen known as kura patu (blood doctors). They were, however, considered as otter men, or an otter society. They seem to have been composed of five groups of dancers, each marching through the camp separately. Women accompanied them, bearing wooden bowls and spoons on their backs. In this manner the five groups proceeded independently to the lodge of the two leaders of the ceremonies where an altar had been prepared. When a group reached the lodge they paused and sang; the leaders on the inside then sang and danced, bearing otterskins in their right hands. After the dance the two leaders came out to receive the guests in their arms.

The chief feature of a ceremony was the shamanistic vomiting of a red liquid like blood. This was collected in bowls and used to paint the bodies and otterskins of those present.

The Iruska.

There was a very powerful medicine society among the Chauí known as the pitararis iruska. However, the Pítahauírata division was also represented in this society, they having the south side and the Chauí the north. The Skidí had the same ceremony except that they used dog meat in the kettle instead of buffalo. Also, the Skidí did not have the two forms of painting, only one, painted black at the joints. The purpose of the dance was to show the power of the members to extinguish the life in the fire, hence the name. Among the Skidí at least, the term iruska has a symbolic or double meaning. The idea is literally "the fire is in me" and the symbolic meaning is that "I can extinguish the life in the fire," or can overcome the powers of other medicines. The members of the society were doctors for they treated burns.

Originally, the society consisted of leaders of various animal medicine societies. Among the members was one who was not a medicineman until he had a curious experience. The story follows:—

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly responsible. 776 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of consecrating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were ceremonial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies. 292 796

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires. 224

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed. 361

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social intercourse. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.) 622 756 782 [565] [773]

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

the deities, for a sacrificed buffalo is reborn, and the buffalo, liking this, would approach nearer and nearer. In the absence of the hunting party dried buffalo meat could not be roasted, as the odor of the roasting meat would reach the animals and they might be frightened. However, the meat could be prepared by boiling.

In the inheritance of personal property, a woman theoretically had no rights. As a matter of fact, however, she was generally considered to be the owner of the lodge, the tipi, and her tools and utensils. Children did not inherit personal property such as robes, blankets, ponies, and saddle trappings, all of which were supposed to belong to the brother, though they were usually claimed by the sons of the deceased's sister.

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

BIRTH

843 The first signs of pregnancy were received with rejoicing by the married couple and their families, who at once began preparing suitable presents for the child. During this period certain restrictions were placed upon the expectant mother and her husband. One of the most important of these prohibited the husband from killing or looking at animals other than the red deer, the flesh of which [825] only his wife was permitted to eat. If the man killed a deer, he jumped over it twice from right to left and twice from left to right, and then scattered a handful of dust over the animal; otherwise the child would be influenced by the deer. If he killed or looked at other animals, they would cause the child's appearance to be like that of an animal.

843 538 825 This restriction is illustrated by the following two tales. Once, the husband of a pregnant woman was trapping beaver and otter. One day the man killed an otter, took it home, and skinned it in the presence of his wife, so that the woman saw all that he did. When she gave birth, the child was part otter and part human, and died soon after. At another time a man went hunting during his wife's pregnancy. He found a badger, shot it through the eye, and took the skin home, showing it to his wife and relating the circumstances of how he got it. Though she tried to prevent his telling about it and tried not to see the skin, her child was born blind.

843 During pregnancy the wife was forbidden the use of any form of knife in the preparation and cutting of food, for to do so would sever the umbilical cord and cause the child to bleed to death. The husband was also careful in the care of his ponies and kept away from those that were lariated. Should he become entangled [825] in the lariat the child would be strangled or injured in the delivery. A pregnant woman refrained from drinking with a horn spoon or [915] from a small earthenware vessel which was used as a dipper, as she would drink in the sound supposed to reside in the utensil. The noise would enter the embryo's ears and the child would be born [827] deaf. In other words, practically all forms of congenital deformity 843 were ascribed to the violation of restrictions imposed during preg- 538 nancy. Even twins were supposed to owe their origin to the fact [845] that in ancient mythological times a woman seduced a man, he believing her to be a woman of whom he was very fond. When they had lain together in the timber beyond the village, she jumped up and laughed at him. In her shadow he saw her ears move and looking closer saw a deer running away. The man in vain tried to

8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

"rains-wrapped-up." The tribe was divided into a number of villages all of whose members traced their descent in the female line from a single ancestor. Each of these villages possessed a sacred bundle, while there were two others which were considered the property of the tribe as a whole. The Four Direction village had four sacred bundles one of which was sacred to each of the cardinal points. These points were, to the Pawnee, southwest, southeast, northwest, and northeast. The sacred bundle of each village was believed to have been given to its first ancestor by one of the heavenly beings, and constituted a link between its members and the divine donor. From their traditions the "gift" seems to have consisted rather in explicit directions for its making than in an actual presentation of the objects. The bundles were inherited in the female line so that their owners were always women. Their keepers, and the priests who performed their ceremonies, were, on the other hand, men.

All the village bundles contained much the same objects. The most important of these were one or two ears of corn, which were called Mother-Corn and were believed to give life to the bundle. They were shelled in the spring and distributed for seed, being replaced at harvest time. When the Mother-Corn consisted of two ears, one of these was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element or Morning Star, while the other symbolized the female element or Evening Star. Next in importance to the Mother-Corn were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls. The hawk symbolized a warrior; the owl, a chief, because it was always awake and watchful. The owl seems to have also symbolized the watchfulness of Tirawa, the supreme being. One or more scalps, taken from slain enemies, were found in every bundle. Pieces cut from them were used in various ceremonies, and they had to be renewed from time to time. Four skins, each of

8: Linton E-4 (no date) 1923
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 just east of the pit. The keeper of that bundle then
783 brought the Mother-Corn from it and placed it in the pit, thrusting the stick to which the male ear was attached into the earth so that it stood upright and leaning the other ear against its base. The keepers of the other bundles then came forward in turn and did the same. A wooden bowl filled with water was then placed to the east of the pit, between it and the fire-place. A clam shell was laid in the bowl, and a turtle, supported by a framework of sticks, was placed
[825] upon it. To the northeast and northwest of the bowl were laid the heads and necks of loons, to the southeast the head and neck of a swan, and to the southwest a gar fish. The meaning of these objects is not perfectly understood. The bowl seems to have represented earth and water; the turtle, fire and also one of the important earthly gods. The loons and swan represented earthly gods, guardians of medicine men; and the gar fish, the great sea monster which first gave the medicine men's ceremony to human beings.

After these objects had been arranged, the chief priest selected four men to sit at the northeast, northwest, southeast and southwest corners of the bowl. The sacred stick from the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star bundle, and a star chart, kept in a bag attached to that bundle, were taken outside and placed on the mound in front of the doorway. The priest then took four smooth stones from the same bundle and gave one to each of the four men. These stones were extremely sacred, and were believed to have been given to the people at the beginning of the world. They were pro-
[482] vided with withe handles so that they could be carried without touching them. When they had been distributed, the priest said, "It is now time for these men to go outside and look at the heavens and over the earth. They will take with them these four stones, which were given to our people when the earth was

10: Smith M-5 (1851) 1852
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Description of the Manners

In the interme-
diate space between the recesses and the fireplace, mats, about three by five feet, made of rushes, are laid, at convenient distances, for seats; while an extra supply of them, rolled up, and set aside at different places in the lodge, are reserved for extraordinary occasions, as for instance councils or feasts.

SUBSISTENCE.—What the *seal* is to the Greenlander, the *buffalo* is to the Pawnees and other Prairie Indians; and many of their songs, in which reference is made to the buffalo, show that this animal is held in high estimation among them. It will no doubt be a difficult undertaking to wean them from an occupation, which is at the same time a gratifying and exciting sport to them, and which imparts to an individual who distinguishes himself in its pursuit, a character of high standing among his tribe. The great scarcity of the buffalo, however, of late years, since the immense emigration to the far west, has pinched them with want and hunger, and it is evident that they cannot subsist much longer by depending mainly upon this animal as heretofore. This circumstance, though calling forth our warmest sympathies in behalf of their wretched condition, may perhaps be the means, in the hands of an Allwise Providence, of shaking that tenacity and attachment so strongly developed in the Indian character, for long cherished customs, and making them more pliable in adopting the arts of civilization. Their attention must soon be directed to agriculture and the raising of stock, or they must starve.—

While on the hunt, in the buffalo country, the Pawnees generally have a good supply of fresh meat to subsist on. That portion of their meat which is intended to be jerked, in order to take home with them, they cut into narrow slips, and dry it over the fire, without any salt, where, by the action of the smoke and sun, it soon dries. Several slips are then plaited together, when it is put away into a skin, and reserved for future use. The reason why no salt is added, is probably, first, because it is a scarce article, and secondly, because anything that is salted and dried, imbibes moisture in damp weather, and sooner becomes rancid, than meat dried without salt.

Besides the buffalo, as their main subsistence, they raise some corn, beans, and pumpkins. As they use no other agricultural implements than hoes, their fields are not very extensive. For suitable spots of cultivation they generally select the mouth of a ravine or any spot where, by the washing of the rains, the ground has become loose and mellow, and consequently the sod may more easily be extirpated than in the prairies generally, where the gronnd can only be prepared by turning the thick sod by means of a large prairie plough, and three or four yoke of oxen.—

Their fields are not enclosed by fences, or any other kind of protection. Having no other stock but horses, which are con-

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

of their value as food sources. Smaller animals, such as rabbits, opossum, raccoon, and squirrel, were also to be had. Ducks, geese, and other waterfowl were plentiful and fish abounded in most of the streams.

All of the major streams carry water the year round, although the Platte during the summer months becomes largely a subterranean river above its junction with the Loup. With the exception of those in the sand hills, the streams flow characteristically in broad, flat alluvial valleys, from 8 to 15 miles wide, and bordered by bluffs up to 250 feet in height. The historic villages were apparently all located in the large river valleys rather than on the small tributary creeks; only the chase, war forays, or migrations seem to have led village tribes such as the Pawnee out upon the interfluvial areas.

It may be noted here that the "sacred places" of the Pawnee, where the *Nahu'rac*, or miraculously endowed animals, met in council, were all associated with the streams. There were five of these, according to Grinnell.[20] One was "at *Pa-hŭk'*, on the south side of the Platte River, opposite the town of Fremont, in Nebraska. The word *Pa-hŭk'* means 'hill island.' Another animal home is under an island in the Platte River, near the town of Central City. It is called by the Pawnee *La-la-wa-koh-ti-to*, meaning 'dark island.' The third of these sacred places is on the Loup Fork, opposite the mouth of the Cedar River, and under a high white cut bank. It is called *Ah-ka-wit-akol*, 'white bank.' Another is on the Solomon River, *Kitz-a-witz-ŭk*, 'water on a bank'; it is called *Pa'howa* sometimes. This is a mound, shaped like a dirt lodge. At the top of the mound, in the middle, is a round hole, in which, down below, can be seen water. At certain times the people gather there and throw into this hole their offerings to *Ti-ra'-wa*, blankets and robes, blue beads, tobacco, eagle feathers, and moccasins. Sometimes, when they are gathered there, the water rises to the top of the hole and flows out, running down the side of the mound into the river. Then the mothers take their little children and sprinkle the water over them and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* to bless them. The water running out of the hole often carries with it the offerings, and the ground is covered with the old rotten things that have been thrown in. [This clearly refers to the mineral spring now known as Waconda, or Great Spirit, Springs, situated 2½ miles southeast of Cawker City, Mitchell County, Kans.[21]] The fifth place is a hard, smooth, flinty rock, sticking up out of the ground. They call it *Pa-hŭr'*, 'hill that points the way.' In the side of the hill there is a great hole where the *Nahu'rac* hold councils. This hill is in Kansas and can be

[20] 1893, p. 358.
[21] Bailey, 1902, pp. 197–200.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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seen from the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad. It is known to the whites as Guide Rock." [22]

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

TRADITIONS

175

Pawnee history, as herein discussed, consists of two major periods or divisions: First, the period of legend and tradition, which is concerned primarily with the origin and migrations of the tribe in a dim and distant past; and secondly, the period of recorded history, beginning in 1541, with the first contact between Europeans and Pawnee, and continuing down to 1876, the date of final removal of the tribe from its home on the Loup and its confinement on a reservation in the then Indian Territory. For information on the first period the traditions recorded by Dunbar, Dorsey, and Grinnell are our main source, hence are here briefly reviewed; and for the later period, the accounts of European and American explorers and travelers are drawn up in chronological sequence, particularly as relates to the location of the villages of the different bands.

173

The ancient habitat of the Pawnee, prior to their occupation of the Platte and Loup Valleys, lay traditionally to the south or southwest. Dunbar,[23] whose authority on this point is generally accepted, states that the traditions of the Grand, Republican, and Tappage bands "coincide in stating that the Pawnee migrated to the Platte River region from the south, and secured possession of it by conquest." [24]

This is partially corroborated by a Wichita legend, according to which the "primitive home" of the two tribes, Pawnee and Wichita, was "upon the Red River, below the mouth of the Washita",[25] in eastern Oklahoma or Arkansas, whence they wandered northward together. The same authority says relative to the Skidi that the "traditions of the other three bands are very positive in affirming that they are the remnant of a once separate tribe that has been subdued and incorporated into the Pawnee family"; [26] the Otos, Poncas, and Omahas were conquered at the same time.[27]

Dorsey [28] traces three of the bands back to a single ancestral tribe, called the *Kawarahkis*, which dwelt near the confluence of the Little Nemaha with the Missouri in the southeastern corner of the present

[22] According to Mr. A. T. Hill, the "hill that points the way" is actually about 2 miles north of the Kansas-Nebraska line, on the south side of the Republican River, directly south of the town of Guide Rock, Webster County, Nebr.
[23] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, pp. 251 ff.
[24] Ibid., p. 251.
[25] Idem.
[26] Ibid., p. 253.
[27] Ibid., p. 252.
[28] Dorsey, G. A., 1906, p. 8.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

teeth of both elk and deer occur rather commonly in caches, as do those of beaver and badger. Dogs were sometimes eaten, though some of the canine teeth and maxillae found in excavation may be those of wolves or coyotes. Remains of small mammals, such as rabbit and squirrel, are fairly common. Fish appear to have been used but little, as their bones are seldom present in the refuse-filled caches.

The excavations of the Nebraska Archeological Survey at the Hill site yielded bones of the following animals, most of which were doubtless used for food:[40]

Dog (*Canis familiaris*).
Wildcat (*Lynx rufus.*)
Bison (*Bison bison*).
Pronghorn antelope (*Antilocapra americana*).
White-tail deer (*Odocoileus virginianus macrourus*).
Horse (*Equus caballus*).
Rodentia (sp. unidentified).

Ceramics

Singularly enough, in spite of the considerable amount of literature pertaining to the Pawnee, there is very little extant in regard to their pottery making. Dunbar [41] states that the women "made rude pottery of sand and a certain kind of clay, which after being burned was quite serviceable." According to information gathered by Comfort [42] from the old men, the Sisseton and Wahpeton Dakota secured their pottery from the Pawnee and Omaha. Yet none of the early explorers or missionaries, some of whom spent months and even years with the tribe and must have had ample opportunity to observe the trait, have left any detailed description of either the processes or the appearances of the completed wares.

Fortunately we have the account given by Grinnell which runs as follows:

> Years ago, on the sites of abandoned Pawnee villages, on the Loup Fork and on the Platte, fragments of pottery used to be found among the debris of the fallen lodges. The manufacture of this pottery was no doubt abandoned long ago, and has probably not been practiced to any considerable extent since they met the whites. A man about 50 years of age stated to me that he had never seen these pots in use, but that his grandmother had told him that in her days they made and used them. He said that they were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mold. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone they mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of the proper consistency they smeared it over the rounded mold, which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and

[40] For the identification of skeletal material the writer is indebted to Mr. Paul O. McGrew, of the Department of Paleontology, University of Nebraska.
[41] Dunbar, J. B., 1880, a, p. 279.
[42] 1873, p. 401.

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There is a little bird, smaller than a pigeon. Its back is blue, and its breast white, and its head is spotted. It flies swiftly over the water, and when it sees a fish, it dives down into the water to catch it. This bird is a servant or a messenger for the *Nahu'rac*. Such a bird came flying by just as the buzzards put the body on the ground, and he stopped and looked at it. When he saw how it was—for he knew all that had happened—he flew down into the lodge and told the *Nahu'rac* about the boy. The bird said, "There is a boy up here on the hill. He is dead, and he is poor, and I want to have him brought to life again." Then he told the *Nahu'rac* all the things that had happened. When the messenger bird had done speaking, the *Nahu'rac* earnestly counselled together for a long time to decide what should be done, and each one made a speech, giving his opinion about the matter, but they could not make up their minds what ought to be done. 539[X] 773 [825]

The little bird was coaxing the *Nahu'rac*, and saying, "Come, now, we want to save his life." But the *Nahu'rac* could not decide. At last the chief of the *Nahu'rac* said, "No, messenger, we cannot decide this here. You will have to go to the other council lodges, and see what they say about it." The bird said, "I am going," and flew swiftly out of the lodge and up the river, till he came to the *Nahu'rac* lodge near the Lone Tree. When he got there, he told them all about the boy, and said that the council at *Pa-hūk'* could not decide what should be done. The *Nahu'rac* here talked, and at last they said, "We cannot decide. The council at *Pa-hūk'* must decide." Then the bird went to the lodge on the Loup, and the *Nahu'rac* there said that they could not decide. Then he went to *Kitz-a-witz-ūk*, and to *Pa-hūr'*; and at each place the *Nahu'rac* considered and talked about it, and then said, "We cannot decide what shall be done. The council at *Pa-hūk'* must decide for themselves."

At last, after he had visited all the council lodges of the *Nahu'rac*, the bird flew swiftly back to the lodge at *Pa-hūk'*, and told them there what the animals at the other lodges had said. In the council of the *Nahu'rac* at *Pa-hūk'*, there were four chiefs, who sat there as judges to determine such matters as this, after they had all been talked over, and to decide what should be done. When the messenger bird came back, and told the *Nahu'rac* what the other councils had said, these judges considered for a time, and then spoke together, and at length

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[For information on various animals as visionary spirit helpers to the Pawnee doctors, see category 756.]

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achievement of the original visionary of the Skull bundle. This was celebrated by decorating the four pillars of the earth lodge that were in the semicardinal directions. To each of them was tied a bundle of willows and some dried buffalo meat and fat—tied on with buffalo-hair ropes. On each pillar under the offering was painted a colored stripe in the color appropriate to its semicardinal direction. The woman visionary was not invited, but was asked to send the consecrated buffalo meat which was set down at the south side of the fireplace. The Skull bundle owners were sent for and four selected to go out and gather the willows. Then they went in procession around the houseposts, one line on the outside, one on the inside, proceeding in a counterclockwise direction, (southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast) tying on the offerings to each post in succession and then painting them.

The sacred objects were next suffused with incense from burnt sweet grass mixed with fat, and the buffalo skull that usually rested there was removed from the altar and the skull of Wonderful Person put in its place. This was the first object to be "incensed"; then came the other objects in the bundle, then the ministers themselves, and then the errand men. After the incensing, all went home except the ministers and errand men, who had their breakfast there of meat and corn.

After breakfast and for the next four hours the lodge was prepared for the public ceremony. The major feature of the public ceremony would be a pantomime of hoeing to break the ground for planting, and the woman visionary was now called in to take part in the preparations. She came in with her brother, who was dressed in his best because he was to go through the village asking for gifts on behalf of their undertaking. He would walk through the village calling upon their relatives and saying that Wonderful Person needed wood and his sister needed help in her enterprise—would they please cook something? In answer to his request, they would bring gifts to the ceremonial lodge.

Meanwhile the errand men were sent out to borrow four sacred shoulder-blade hoes that were kept in the four direction bundles. When they brought these in they were placed in pairs on the north and south of the altar. From the Skull bundle itself were taken two deer necks placed at the south and two loon necks placed at the north of the altar. These symbolized the fact that loons fly high against the sky and bring us messages from Heaven, which Wonderful Person would now be representing in the ceremony. A pure young man who had shed no blood would be selected to decorate the skull for this role. He first painted the face red and on it a line design in blue, bow-shaped and extending across the forehead and down the cheeks, representing the vault of the heavens, and a blue line down the center and along the nose for the breath of Heaven descending from the zenith, passing down the nose to the heart and giving life to the child (see Figure 9-1). The minister

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[773] [796] [782] to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used in the sacrifice ceremony.

Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning [821] [787] Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role. Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of [292] cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin [825] with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood [823] appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm, [824] northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast. The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Turwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

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When Roaming Leader rejoined his friends in his tent, they continued their planning in the light of what White Eagle had said. Their assignment was to go toward the southwest. New Young Dog said, "That's a good place to go. It's hilly there. Last year about this time we saw three or four buffalo over there." Roaming Leader reminded them to hobble their horses next to the tent so that they could get an early start; he told them to meet at his place so that they could leave together. He also said they should plan to leave very early so that no one would try to follow along and join the party.

Roaming Leader was the first to awaken next morning, then New Young Dog, who was so anxious to get off that he had hardly slept. After that Mad Bear came, half running, and then the other two, who were a bit slower.

It was still somewhat dark when they left, but they had a long way to go—five or six miles to the Platte, and then the crossing. When they got to the crossing place, the scouts from the other bands were also there. They greeted one another, and after they had crossed over, each scout announced the direction his band was traveling.

If any of the parties saw the buffalo massed together, this was a sign that the Cheyenne and Arapaho must be lurking around somewhere near the Platte. They would keep right on until they saw two or three bison or buffalo standing alone, with no others to be seen anywhere around as far as the eye could see. Then they knew it was safe to hunt them.

There were five scouts in Roaming Leader's party and three buffalo to be attacked. All five could not chase the three buffalo at once, so they split up into two groups of three and two respectively. The three bison stood next to a pond. The men were on a little hill and they approached cautiously, going down into a trough where they would be concealed. Then they removed their saddles and rode out bareback. The party of three would chase two of the bison and the party of two, the third one. The man on the fastest horse headed off the two bison and led them to the place where they had left their saddles. "Hurry up, hurry up and try to shoot," he called to the other two men. The other party of two would head off the third bison and try to kill it.

Now they were in a hurry to butcher. It was a hard trip back over the sand hills, especially with the horses loaded, and they wanted to reach the encampment before dark. For the butchering, the five men divided into three parties—two each for two of the buffalo, and one man to butcher the third buffalo by himself.

The procedure in butchering a bison was different from that of butchering a cow in the way the hide was removed. The cow was placed on her back and the whole skin removed from the belly out. The bison hide was heavy and they placed him on his belly and removed the hide in two sections, dividing it along the backbone and making two skins out

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east or any want to go west, just go ahead. There are lots of buffalo. As for me, I'm going right over the hill." Only those with the best horses could go right over the hill. One could see the buffalo in the distance here and there as they were coming up from the water to graze on the other side of the hill. Some of the Man-Going-Downstream Band decided to go eastward across Turkey Creek, even though the creek was muddy to cross, as there were many buffalo there and less hunters to attack them. The holy man, who had to remain still in order not to disturb the effect of his magic, sat at the base of the hill and waited. He could not go back to camp, since it would not be set up until the attack on the herd was over.

As soon as the signal was given, the hunters all rode to the chase. The herds were very scattered and had to be chased by men in small groups. In the past they chased the buffalo on foot and there was still a man, Charley Buffalo, who was such a fast runner that he could overtake a buffalo on foot and shoot him.

Now each hunter selected his own buffalo to chase, depending on his skill as a hunter and the speed of his horse. There was little value in trying to get more than one buffalo or at most two—though a good hunter could conceivably get more—as there was no help to be gotten with the butchering and he would not be able to haul in the extra meat in any case. A second animal might be consecrated to a sacred bundle, in which case as the hunter shot it he would say, "It is sacred!" The South Bands designated such a sacred animal by crossing its forelegs and tying them together as the animal lay on its back, then tying the hind legs, but the Skidi did not follow this practice. A man who had the misfortune to fall off his horse and could not get back on in time would be enlisted to help butcher and receive half an animal, although the ribs would not be given him at this time.

The chase was carefully timed to the habits of the buffalo. At this season the buffalo spent most of the time scattered about in the uplands where the buffalo grass was. (In winter they stayed closer together in the timber.) In the morning, the buffalo went down to the water and between ten-thirty and eleven o'clock they were back in the pasture grazing. At noon they were all sitting down resting and by evening had gone down to the water again before returning to the uplands.

The hunters usually lined up for the attack about ten-thirty in the morning and by eleven rode to the chase. Everywhere a cloud of dust would rise as they rushed forward except after a rain when big clods and mud would hit them in the face. They never hunted when it was actually raining, as the sinew bowstring stretched and was ineffectual when wet.

It was easy to tell which were the most desirable buffalo. Those with their bellies still swollen with water had been the last to get down to the

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*224 • [825] water and get a drink and were therefore the older and slower animals. The fatter and faster animals had been down and returned to the pasture to graze by the time these animals had gotten there.

The better the horse, the faster the animal one could try to chase. As two men sighted a good buffalo, one would remark, "That's mine," and his neighbor would observe, "When your horse gets there it will be yours!" The fat buffalo knew he was going to be chased and a contest began between the hunter and his prey. The hunter would test the metal of his horse by baiting the buffalo with "hae, hae, hae!" a sound that made the buffalo angry so that his tail stuck up and he shook it. Only a fast horse could get an angry buffalo. When the shot found its mark the hunter would say, "ex' hau!" or "uhe'e, ahe'e!" As soon as he saw blood coming out of the buffalo's mouth, he knew that the animal could not go far and he would go get his horse nearby to be convenient for loading and begin at once to butcher. If they were at any distance from camp and two were close together, they would save much needed time by butchering cooperatively, first the animal of one, then of the other.

If they were far from camp it would be best to drive the animal toward the water before killing it for convenience while butchering. Most desirable, however, was to drive the animal close to camp where they wouldn't have far to haul the meat. When they chased an animal close to camp, the women came out asking for intestine or kidneys. They would yell, "Here comes one over here!" Another advantage of killing the buffalo close to camp was that they could bring in the bones which would be too heavy to carry otherwise, especially the backbone. Then they [262] [251] could make marrow fat by boiling the bones and skimming off the grease. The fat was stored in a paunch and used to eat with pounded-up dried meat.

Some of the hunters of the Man-Going-Downstream Band had gone over east across Turkey Creek. After the camp was set up, two bison, apparently having escaped the hunters, had come across the creek and trotted right through the encampment. As the bison came through, there was great excitement in the camp. Women grabbed their babies and put them onto their backs, old people tried to get out of the way, and the dogs were barking as the bison tried to hook them. The men that remained in camp lined up two deep along both sides in their path saying, "Hah! e, hah!'e" to bait and anger the bison, but no one would do them any harm as it was felt that they had been brave and had some supernatural purpose in coming through the camp. When the hunters got home for their dinner, this incident would be recounted in great detail and similar incidents in the past recalled. One of the more "slapstick" [538] types of story was told of an old man named Crazy who once decided he would be brave and would shoot one of these buffalo with his rifle. He only succeeded in being hooked by the buffalo and tossed up in the air

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field, and then next day by Horse Rider and No Corn in her field, the two teams staying alternately at home and watching as well as processing the crops. Sweet corn was mainly made into double braids. Quantity production depended on team work, of course, but the women had to sort out the eight varieties of beans after everything was done, as the men would not bother with such a detail and would pay no attention to the selection of the best ears for braiding. When all the corn was in, the blackbirds began to fly over the fields, presaging the cold weather.

The following are some of the processes used in preserving the crops, together with a breakdown of how these were coordinated with the activities of gathering.

The green corn was gathered from the stalk "in the milk" and roasted in a long roasting pit in which a fire was built. It was allowed to cool off and the husks removed. The kernels were cut off the cob row by row with a fresh-water clamshell and spread on a tanned hide to dry. At night the kernels were first winnowed to remove any chaff, gathered up and put in a flour sack, and then taken into the tent. They were put in a wooden bowl and spilled out from a height so that the wind would blow the chaff away. Next morning they were again spread out on the tanned hide. After several days, as they were being spilled for winnowing in the evening, they would make a tapping noise when they hit the hide, showing that the kernels were completely dry.

When the beans were picked off the vines and brought into camp, they were dumped onto the spread and allowed to dry in the sun. As they dried, one could hear the popping of the pods. At night they were left outdoors, covered only with a spread of tanned hide, and in the morning uncovered and allowed to dry again. Then they were flailed with a peeled willow rod about 4 feet long and 1 inch thick to remove the pods as much as possible. Some of the beans had to be picked out by hand—a small pile of beans was always picked this way. If there was a large pile the woman would strike them with the stick, then stop and pick out the loose pods and pile them to one side, push the beans together again and further beat them with the stick. The beans were winnowed by spilling from a height from a wooden bowl, in this way loose pieces of dry pod blew away and the pods still containing some beans fell to the ground and were opened by hand—an operation in which someone usually gave her help if they were available. After winnowing, the beans were spread out to dry thoroughly. When all the other work had been done, the beans were sorted into their eight varieties.

After the beans, they brought in the pumpkin harvest. The women spent most of one day hauling them from the field. First they brought the largest, then the next largest, and so on. One parfleche in which they were transported carried five large pumpkins, or seven to eight

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The kind of experience involved had a profound personal value. The way in which this knowledge was conceived is perhaps indicated by the personality attributed to the doctor—slow, deliberate, thoughtful and, to a considerable degree, introspective. As a more practical measure of social esteem perhaps was the fact that during the previous summer buffalo hunt, 60 parfleches of dried buffalo meat had been pledged in support of the performance, and in former times, before the population had been so heavily reduced, 140 parfleches were donated in one season.

The mode in which the doctors operated during their ceremony was of two kinds. One was the inducing of a trance state in the other doctors: utilizing the motions of the animal that was their special cult mentor. This was called *patsaku*, "shooting," and was also metaphorically referred to as "fighting." The second kind of activity of the doctors was a highly skilled sleight-of-hand performance, *tawaruku*, so expertly carried out that the illusion was completely convincing to the spectators. The metaphor for this kind of performance was "playing" or "romping," as of a child. The skill of the illusion in both cases has been attested to by the most hard-headed outside observers and this required extensive preparation and a long process of learning. The props were carefully designed to achieve the desired illusory effect and the strategy was planned with great precision, involving accomplices in the audience and special lighting effects developed by regulating the fire in the fireplace.

In view of these deliberate and extensive preparations for illusion, the question has often been raised of how these ceremonies could be regarded as religious in character. From my long experience with my informant, who retained a good deal of his old belief, it was the success in creating the illusion that was the mark of favor of the supernatural mentor, and therefore the performance was sincerely believed to be a religious experience. He would say, "If one does not have faith, he will fail." He cited examples where people of insufficient faith caused injury to themselves and to others while trying to perform. The success of the illusion depended upon the dexterity and agility of the performer and his ability to deflect the attention of the spectator just long enough for him to make the necessary shifts. There may possibly have been some measure of self-induced trance such as occurred to the priests incidentally in the course of the creation ceremony. (Our own knowledge of the subject is too elementary to identify the situation psychologically.)

A major difference between our experience and theirs should be especially noted. The Pawnees as well as many peoples who practiced these arts were in constant association with wild animals in their natural habitat, an experience which is entirely absent in our own world. They lived within a world of wild animals in their hunting and even in defense of their settlements, they had to have an intimate knowledge of the emo-

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tional as well as the physical structure of these animals. The device of animal impersonation by dressing up in animal skins and imitating their sounds and motions is universally reported for hunting peoples and must go back to the very dawn of man's history. It may be that some degree of self-induced trance or control of the prey in these terms may have been involved in these operations. In any case, an intense rapport with the animals was involved.

Each doctor developed his own "animal repertoire." We may be able to gain some insight into the relation between the doctor and his animal mentor from an actual case of a transfer of animal powers between two brothers who decided to make a fair exchange of their different knowledge.

Victory Call was anxious to get Bear knowledge from his older brother, Sitting Hawk, who was a leader of the Bear Lodge in the Doctor Association. One day when they were alone together he broached the subject. Sitting Hawk, however, was not willing to part with what he knew for nothing. He said, "I want something there on your side. We're going to trade." "You're my own brother," said Victory Call, "and you won't teach me for nothing?" "You're my own brother, too, and I know you won't teach me for nothing either," said Sitting Hawk. We should explain that Victory Call was the leader of a private doctor cult the *Raris-ta*, Dance-Deer or Whistle Dance involving the mescal bean that had become so prominent among the Pawnees that it was developing into a feared rival of the Doctor Association itself. Two generations before, this cult had been borrowed from the Wichita, the Caddoan-speaking kinsmen of the Pawnees to the south. Among other kinds of knowledge, rattlesnake power was involved in the teachings. It is hard to know what plants were involved in connection with the curing of snakebite or the control of the snakes. Members of the *Raris-ta* could handle a weed that was thought to be poisonous to other people, though there is no proof that this was the case. It was undulating in form like the snake itself. People were warned not to touch the plant unless they were members of the society. It was said of them that they had "snake-shot" or power, *rut-patsat-kuriraru*, "snake-shot-to-possess-or-own." Weeds associated with rattlesnakes have variously been identified from other tribes—a Mexican mentioned Dodder or Love Vine (*Cuscuta paradoxa* Raf.), saying that snakes took it into their dens for food; from the Dakota Indians there is a report that Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens* L.) was known as snake food. The botanical identity of the Pawnee plant, however, is not known. In the cosmic mythology it was said that the jealous Fools-the-Wolves Star (Sirius) who had felt himself excluded from the original Council of the Gods, was angered when people told irreverent stores about Wolf or Coyote. Although in winter he couldn't control the situation, in summer he could enlist the aid of the Snake Star (Scor-

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pio), who would send the snakes on earth to bite the teller. There are many other indications in Pawnee mythology of the fear and respect the Pawnees held for the power of the rattlesnake.

Later in the course of our account of the doctor performances, we shall see that Victory Call did receive Bear knowledge from his brother, but first he taught him rattlesnake knowledge.

One day Victory Call said to Sitting Hawk, "Well, let's go." If luck were with them they would find a rattlesnake right away. Sure enough, there sat a snake curled up with his head sticking up in the middle. Victory Call said, "Go ahead and catch it." Sitting Hawk thought, "It's going to bite me." The snake knew that Sitting Hawk was afraid of him. His fangs were sticking up and he was getting ready to bite. Sitting Hawk grabbed him by the neck. The snake felt cold on his arm. Sitting Hawk put the snake down and began to talk to him. He said, "That's what I wanted to know. That's what I wanted to find out." The snake said to Sitting Hawk, "I'm just like you. But you whip me and kill me for nothing. That's why, when you come in my path, I rattle to you to let you know I'm here. If you get out of my way then, I don't have to poison you. But when you come and abuse us, we must do something about it."

Sitting Hawk now caressed Victory Call in blessing. The two men sat down and smoked a pipe together, offering puffs of smoke to the snake and talking to him. Then they went home and Victory Call gave Sitting Hawk some medicine to cure snakebite and showed him the weed it was prepared from.

Long after this time, when Sitting Hawk and Victory Call were dead and the tribe had moved to Oklahoma, Otter's older brother Fox Chief tried to transfer some rattlesnake power to him. But Otter failed from fear and hesitation:

We two were walking along and we saw a big rattlesnake. Fox Chief told me to get hold of it, but I was afraid. Because of this, I would never have another chance. Fox Chief always had a little bundle of medicine in his buttonhole with fringes that hung down about four inches. He took a twig and chewed the end of it, dipping it in the medicine and then putting it near the end of the snake's nose. The snake relaxed and lay stretched out. He picked it up and put it in the crook of his arm so that it rested against the sheet that Fox Chief was wearing as a blanket. In this way he carried the snake home.

When we arrived at his earth lodge, his wife was sitting in front on a mat making a pair of moccasins. He said to her, "I've brought you something to eat." She was very pleased until she saw what he had

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tators (*rariwaatuksa*) crowded in, and seeing what they were doing became interested, and began to fill up the membership ranks. Others now went to the southern Caddoan-speaking tribes—the Wichitas, Kitsais, Tawakaru, and Weco—learned their sleight-of-hand tricks, and returned to join the Deer Dance. The ranks thus became full.

In the south half of the lodge, at the west and in the semicardinal positions, each of the men had a tribal name according to where he had acquired his teachings. The north side that represented the Pawnee was called as a whole, *isati* (a noted one, or northerner in the Wichita language). The leader from the Pawnee side at the northwest station would say (mentioning one or the other of the southern Caddoan tribes), "The Kitsais [or the Wichitas, etc.] are coming on the warpath!" This would be a challenge to a shamanistic contest.

The year after the Pawnee moved from Fremont (*Pahaku*) to the reservation near Genoa, Kind Warrior died (1861). Victory Call survived him by seven years and during this time he controlled the Deer Dance and it had many members with performances going full force. Many new features were added to the ceremony, particularly two—the contest between members on the north and those on the south and the addition of two women members, one near the north entrance and one near the south. (See Figure 43-2.) This latter feature came about after someone reported that the Wichita included women, who took part and also gave performances. Then someone dreamed that they had been right in admitting the women and that they should have special duties of taking care of any corn that was donated and sweep the floor of the lodge every morning during the ceremony. Every morning during the ceremonial period, the old ladies would get up very early and tell the boys to get up. Then they gave the room a good sweeping. There were songs that told of this aspect of the ceremonial life in the Deer Lodge.

As Kind Warrior brought the Deer Dance to the Pawnee, most of the songs had Wichita words and reflected Wichita experiences. But in time the Pawnee dancers made new songs that were based on their own experiences and sung in the Pawnee language.

One war experience was of a war party of the Pitahawirata Band to Fort Scott, Kansas, led by Tikarahisat. They stayed on a high tableland for more than a year, hunting the buffalo and making a buffalo robe for their leader. They saw the ducks flying south in winter and then in spring when they flew north again, they flew in triangular formation with their leader at the apex and at the ends of the arms, the two errand men. Children used to ask these ducks, as they flew over the village, to give them moccasins or red bows and arrows. These experiences became the basis for a Pawnee song in the Deer Dance. Another song they sang was about two eagles that they saw, first one with a large log in his claws, then another with another log; they were building a nest. As they built, the eagles would whistle.

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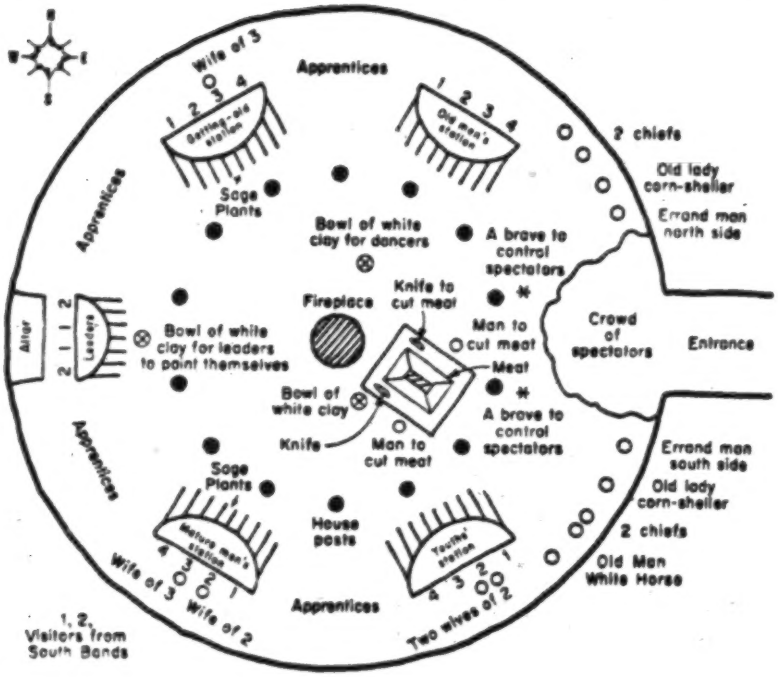

FIGURE 43-2. The developed form of the Deer Dance. It took place in a large ten-post earth lodge. There were sage plants all around to sit on with root ends pointing outward; the thickest bunches were at the stations and the thinner layers between. The circuit of singing is clockwise—southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast, as the circuit of the stars around the North Star. Note the development of specialized personnel.

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Then one of the eagles sat on the eggs while the other flew around. The deer dancers of the several Pawnee bands would invite one another to their dances and in this way, the Skidi acquired some of the songs about the Fort Scott expedition, while Skidi experiences found their way into the repertoire of the other bands. One Skidi song concerned a time when the Comanche came to attack. They could see them coming a long way off, and they came down and hid and stole many horses.

Another song was composed by Warrior. He was an old man who had been highly successful in his war expeditions. Most people wondered why such a man would join the Deer Dance, since one of its major interests was success in war. But Warrior had another purpose. He was particularly interested in learning the sleight-of-hand feat in which a wonderful rabbit could turn into a human being. The story was that

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once when they were moving camp, a rabbit came in and out among the tents, threading his way here and there. However close the people were when they aimed at him, no one could hit him, even when the dogs joined in the chase. So a song was made about this wonderful rabbit who eluded all human pursuers. This was what Warrior wanted to learn.

The author of the original song was an old man, Arrived, who had a place at the northeast station. But instead of approaching him directly, Warrior went to his old friend, That-Chief for his advice as to how to go about it. He was told to come in next day when they had a practice meeting and address his request for membership in the lodge to all the members assembled and particularly to New Young Dog at the northwest. When Warrior entered the ceremonial lodge where the members were assembled for their practice sing, he stood at the east of the fireplace about halfway out to the door and facing west said, "All you Deer dancers, and New Young Dog at the west, I want to learn your Deer Dance. I will give a horse, some blankets, and some meat." New Young Dog, as was the usual practice, tried to deter him. He mentioned that, as Warrior was a successful warrior, everyone would laugh at him smearing himself with clay and participating in their ceremonies when he had no need for further luck either in war or in the hunt. But he remained determined, and finally New Young Dog led him to the old man's place at the northeast station where he took his place.

That evening Warrior went in quest of the rabbit learning that he wanted. New Young Dog had learned it from the original author, Arrived, and it was to him that Warrior went. When he got to the lodge, the people knew the two men wanted to be alone together so they all went to bed. The two men sat and smoked and talked and in the course of their conversation Warrior told New Young Dog about an experience he had had that impressed him deeply. Warrior always wore a white feather and once when the village was under attack as the war party struck, he felt like a feather floating in the wind so that no one could hurt him while he was aloft in the air. New Young Dog advised him that he could make a song about that when they were at the meeting. At the practice meeting, Warrior began slowly and then the next day he sang the song he had composed:

1.	hiwiri	witikuuwis
		Now I feel as if I were flying
2.	"	"
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	his
		feather flying

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skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears, without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time. Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and "fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive "fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea-

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796 824 •825 The wild sage plant continued to be a major feature of the Pawnee Deer Dance ceremonial in the performances, and the entire floor was carpeted with the plant placed radially all around with the stub ends outward and the head ends pointing inward. The symbolism of the deer was maintained in the course of the performances when the performer would jump over the fireplace, from north to south and back again, and from west to east and back again, impersonating the deer in this way. Also in his closing speech, the leader told them that their Deer Lodge was now over and they were to follow their tracks home to the timber. They left, blowing their whistles all the way home, and the blowing could be heard all over the village so that the dance was sometimes referred to as the Whistle Dance.

796 789 536 After the sixth session, the "fighting" was entirely ended and the seventh, eighth, and ninth evenings were given over to illusionist sleight-of-hand feats of considerable intricacy, and the calendar eventually became so crowded that several performers might be performing simultaneously or with their performances overlapping. The rattling and singing would be begun at the southeast station, and sometimes no one would be inspired to get up and perform until the gourds and bows had reached a subsequent station in the clockwise round. In any case, if the spectators had not yet accumulated to a sufficient degree, some of the performers felt they wanted to wait "until they got a good crowd." The ceremony of the tenth day is entirely composed of a considerable series of sleight-of-hand performances.

796 756 578 At the time when Kind Warrior was its leader, the membership of the Deer Dance was becoming so considerable and the interest so great that the leaders of Doctor Lodge felt that it might develop into a rival organization to theirs. Sometimes when members were absent from the Doctor Lodge, others would go after them and finding them in the Deer Dance, would spirit them out, causing them to bleed at the mouth and desecrating the ground of the Deer Dance Lodge which had to be spotlessly clean and fresh. This almost developed into an open contest of power, which was finally averted when the doctors sent their apologies to the Deer Dance leaders admitting they had been wrong. At that period, the two ceremonies overlapped somewhat. Kind Warrior had taken a group of his members down to the pond where he summoned up a turtle, stating that if it came to an open fight he would go into the Doctor Lodge and, locking the entryway, make their turtle fireplace come alive. A report of this threat, finally brought the apology from the doctors.

The conflict was resolved at a later time, when Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, took over after Victory Call's death as leader of the Deer Dance and entered into an agreement with the leaders of the Doctor Lodge to hold his ceremony early, right after they arrived back from the summer hunt and before the Doctor Lodge should begin.

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47

EQUIPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL MANUFACTURES

The Fall of the Year a Time for Manufacture—Buffalo a Chief Source—History of Their Trading—Wood of Second Importance—Reeds and Grasses Third in Importance—Clay and Stone Scarce—History of Transition from Stone to Metal—Crafts Highly Regarded but No Religious Taboos—Learning to Make a Black Rope

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THE FALL OF THE YEAR was the time when the Pawnees made most of the things they used. There was a plentiful supply of food and in the protected environment of the earth lodge, they could manufacture the various items of furnishings, clothing, and equipment they needed. Moreover, with the winter hunt and migration in prospect, they had to make sure that everything was in order, as there would be little time in the short daylight hours for more than setting up camp and processing the meat and skins. 221

There were very few materials in the Pawnee environment that they could use to make the things they needed. Their top resource for industry as well as for food was the buffalo. Hides, hair, horns, and bones each found a number of essential uses. Hides made their all-important tent cover, their blankets, curtains, containers, moccasin soles, and other clothing. And even beyond their domestic needs, it gave them their major item of external trade, the buffalo robe. 433 239 825

There is clear evidence that this was a leading trade item before the Spaniards moved up into the Plains in 1540. Long before the advent of the European on the continent, the settled villages were centers of trade for the more nomadic peoples and there were seasonal trade fairs in recognized locations where peoples came to exchange their special products and materials. 174 438 439 443

work down the length of the shirt itself. The quill embroidery was done by the wife of the maker. It took at least ten to twelve days to make such a shirt.

The turban, while sometimes worn in winter to keep the head warm, also indicated the warrior rank of the wearer. The highest warrior rank was represented by a turban of wildcat skin. Second in rank was fox skin, and third, a white or red handkerchief or any sort of calico. (Wolf skin was never worn on the head.) Among the South Bands, the ranks differed somewhat; wildcat was the highest, but the second was the big squirrel.

A Skidi brave wore a decorative knee band at the top of his leggings just below the knees to show that he was an active warrior "going about all the time." A leg band of raccoon denoted a comparable rank among the South Bands.

A great warrior had the privilege of draping an otter skin like a necklace around his neck. While they were out on the summer hunt, a man who had earned the right to wear it for a long time, could bring it to the council tent and have it incorporated as a feature of a ceremony.

The particular skin that a man used to make a quiver was also a sign of his rank. Otter skin could be used only by a chief. Only the bravest men could use the skin of a panther—an animal that was seldom caught. Should someone who was not privileged to use it manage to catch one, the man who had the requisite rank would offer him a blanket and a pair of leggings or some calico for it.

Bear and beaver skins were prepared only by the doctors for their special ceremonies. The bear meat was considered inedible and was left in the trees for the birds. It was thought that a person who ate it would soon imitate the bear, and moreover, the bear ate humans and was therefore not considered fit for human food.

Eagles were a valuable commodity. Most of the time they made eagle-wing fans from dead eagles. Only rarely did a man possess a good enough eye to shoot one. Old Bull was such a good shot and should he manage to shoot one while they were out on the summer hunt, he would bring it to the council tent in the hope of getting good luck for himself and others. They would divide it up as they saw fit—taking off the downy feathers, the wings, the tail feathers, etc. Sometimes Old Bull would decide to keep the whole skin for himself. He would dry up the skin, giving one wing to a doctor as a gift so that he could make a fan. He made a fan for himself out of the other one. Later when someone was going off on a Peace Pipe trading expedition, he would ask Old Bull to give him the skin and Old Bull would say, "I give it to you. I don't want anything for it." However, should his enterprise prosper, he would remember the generosity of his friend, Old Bull, and give him the best horse he had gotten on the expedition.

Only one or two people were privileged to put eagle feathers around a shield.

411 [237] boiled hide and the feathers bent onto the stick and pasted down and tied in place with some more wet sinew at their lower end.

411 412 After the feathers were in place, the shafts were buffed by passing them between the two grooved sandstone buffers that were pressed together—the arrow being turned back and forth so that it was well rounded.

[172] [178] The next process was the use of the bone arrowshaft straightener that was a little bit like a fork. [Archaeological specimens from the Hill site of 1806 are pieces of bison rib with holes of different sizes drilled through them. In recent times, a tin can punched with holes was sometimes substituted.]

411 [237] After straightening, downy feathers were fastened on at the lower end of the feathers that had already been attached.

[284] The final step was to split the end for inserting the point. After the point was inserted, the end was bound with sinew to make it fast. Different kinds of shafts were called "black-lying-on," "red-lying-on," referring to the colors of the feathers.

276 *The Pipestem.* Next to the bow and arrow, the pipe was one of the most significant things the man used. The pipe was smoked both for relaxation and in every ceremony. The stem was symbolic of the human windpipe and the breath was considered the essence of life itself. *Tsiksu*, the word [192] for "throat," was also the verb stem for "to think, to feel," *-atsiks-*. In the ceremony of the Peace Pipe, the main emblems were the two pipestems, a bowl from a sacred bundle being attached to one of them and smoked in the course of the ceremony. The pipestems were decorated with [237] eagle feathers and other ceremonial insignia—one with the feathers of the [325] brown eagle, signifying "night," "female," "fruitfulness" and known as *ra-hak-katitu*, "one-mouth-black"; and the other with feathers of the white eagle, signifying "day," "male," "defense," "war" and called *ra-hak-takaru*, "one-mouth-white." At various stages in the ceremony these were waved about so that they symbolized the flight of the eagles.

276 322 The pipestems were ceremonially fashioned after instructions from the priests. He sent two men to bring in two sticks of ash, and as they sat east of the fireplace they prepared the sticks, warming them over the fire so that they could be straightened and cut to length, viz., four spans from thumb to third finger. The stems were peeled, scraped, and the pith removed by boring them from end to end with a reed so that the breath could pass through unobstructed. The pith was then burned out with a wire. The men cut a straight groove the entire length of each stick to represent the lifeline. Finally all scrapings and every particle of ashwood was placed carefully on the fire, and as the flame rose the two sticks were passed through the blaze so that the word of the fire might enter and be with them.

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525 Then if you're both gambling, who will cook for you? Who will take care of you?

"If you want to, go ahead. But at first you'll be lucky and then the sticks will try to draw you in. Then when they have you, you'll lose.

"If you want to, go ahead. But if you are lucky, just play for a month. Then leave it because your luck must change.

"If you have lost and want to retrieve your losses, do it and when you have won back what you lost, stop gambling."

524 525 The hand game was played by young men ranged along both sides of a trenchlike fireplace with a smoldering log in it. Facing each other on the opposite sides of the fire were "two opposing war parties." The crux of the game was the hiding of a white bead in the hands of a member of one party with the guesser from the other side trying to determine in which hand it was hidden. War songs were sung and in the motioning of the hands of the line in which the bead was hidden, the bead might be transferred by sleight of hand during the guessing. That-Chief also mentioned the hand game, addressing his remarks especially to Otter. Evarts observed that:

"At hand game you might bet your shirt and when the other fellow wins, you might not want to give up your shirt. Then he would get angry and tear at your shirt and he might even take a stick from the fire and burn your head. That would be the worst thing. Once I was in a game and I was the loser to Jim Murie. There I learned the real meaning of That-Chief's advice. Osborne was on the winning side and he began to brag saying, 'Look at those fellows. They can't do much.' Then he made disparaging remarks about my cousin, Sam Townsend, that I call child, *piirau*. Then I really got angry. I felt particularly sensitive as I had lost my leggings, my moccasins and many other things. I said, 'I can't stand all that talk,' and I took a stick from the fire and hit him. The coals flopped all over his head and I was about to hit him again, when they stopped me. To avoid further trouble, they sent Osborne home saying to him, 'You're the cause of the trouble. You talked too much.' "

526 224 825 However, there was quite a different aspect to these games that was implicit in their religious symbolism, with the gambling an extraneous feature. The rolling of the hoop along the long game grounds and aiming at it with the stick or "spear" was an act of sympathetic magic both for the increase of the buffalo and for the successful outcome of the buffalo hunt. Originally the game was played for the direct purpose of calling the buffalo, and when they were out on the summer buffalo hunt, wherever 000 they could find a smooth patch of grass, they would set up a game. In

They decided to build a fire outside and proceed with it there. The contributions of ribs were apt to be light at this time, possibly only four sets.

The guests at the council were representatives of each of the four Skidi villages. They included the leading chief and a subchief from each and their respective braves. The head chiefs of each of the villages sat in their usual semicardinal positions with their subchiefs and braves ranged inward toward the north and south. This made sixteen official delegates from the villages.

The head priest now addressed the assembled company, mentioning each of the chiefs and villages and stating that they were to make this tent their administrative headquarters. He also pointed out that while in summer they selected their hunt police from the military societies, during the winter the societies were suspended and they would simply choose the police from among the braves present without benefit of the symbolic lances and belt of the societies. He mentioned that the hunt was under the aegis of the "Yellow Tent," still another name for the Evening Star bundle.

Lone Chief took over greeting the priests and others and stating he was going to choose the police from among the braves. He now chose War Cry (of Pumpkin-Vine Village) to be head policeman, and then from the other three villages, Shot Arm, Strikes-the-Enemy and Leading-Downhill. Each of these would choose his own deputy. The head priest now officially assigned the conduct of the rest of the meeting to Lone Chief. The ribs were served under his direction and when a second helping was carried around, a number of the men gave theirs to the boy Might-Be-Chief, who went home with his arms loaded with buffalo ribs.

The meal over, the official police belt was hung up tied to the south pole of the tent, south of the Evening Star bundle, and the head policeman War Cry would wear it when he was on duty. There were sleigh bells for each of the other three official policemen so that they could make themselves heard as they went through the camp warning people to be quiet. Everyone knew that they should not linger as the family of Old Lady Lucky Leader had to get their meat sliced in the tent, and so as soon as they had eaten, Lone Chief said the customary "Now we have eaten," and everyone got up directly and left.

Women were not permitted at council meetings or ceremonies, and the old lady and her daughter had gone elsewhere as soon as the council was in session. Now they came back in and the two women and Frank and Roaming Leader got to work slicing and drying their meat as fast as they could. They might have to work a good part of the night.

The priests had appointed four official scouts and they were out very early the next morning going west along the north side of the Republican. When they looked across to the south bank, they saw a certain kind of

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calf with a long body that they called "Calf-That-Has-a-Rope" signifying that it was a calf around whom the herd gathers like a circular rope. They believed that when this calf was killed, all the buffalo were impelled to come seeking it. On the other hand, if they did not succeed in killing it, the herd would turn back when attacked. It took an exceptionally fast horse to kill this calf and Jim Bear (also known as In-the-Front-Line) managed to overtake it and kill it because, as he said with characteristic modesty, "the calf got tired running in the deep snow." Now the buffalo were running eastward in a vast herd along the south side of the river. They knew they wouldn't have to go any further for this hunting expedition, but could set up a permanent encampment at a place called Many Deer to the west of Turkey Creek, for the herd were sure to continue coming in this direction. When they set up camp at Many Deer they could hear the roar of the herd. The skin of the special calf who had been herd leader was donated to Wolf-Standing-in-Water Village as a wrap for its sacred bundle.

Meanwhile, at Turkey Creek, after the Skidi scouts had gone out, Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band announced his plan to go to a place to the south that the South Bands preferred. Eagle Chief sent back a message that they were unable to join him as his scouts had already killed some buffalo to the west. It was then understood that the four bands would part, and no rancor whatever was involved. The Man-Going-Downstream Band joined Man Chief, while the Little-Earth-Lodge Band had a place they liked to camp they called, "Where-the-Cane-Plants-Are-Sitting-up-Against." This was located on the south side of the Republican just about opposite the Skidi camp of Many Deer that was on the north bank of the river. They all stayed at Turkey Creek for an extra day to give the women a chance to cure the meat and prepare the hides, and then the bands went to their several destinations.

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through its four elements, clouds, winds, lightning and thunder, is personified into a single gigantic personality, Paruksti, who makes a tour of the newly created world for the gods, his footsteps being carefully noted in the most minute detail." In Thompson, p. 171, the world is created in terms of a personified First Day who makes an extensive journey afoot over the land.

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82 Toothed vagina "like the mouth of a rattlesnake," Dorsey, 1906, p. 41. See Bogoras, 1901, p. 667, for wider distribution of this theme.

83, 152, 154-155 Buckstaff, 1927, is well illustrated with diagrams and a photograph of the Pawnee Star Chart in the Chicago Museum. He states (p. 285): "The Indians recognized the constellations as we do, also the important stars, drawing them according to their magnitude." Double stars were also shown as well as constellations. Astronomical analysis is included in the article.

84, 117 On the sacrifice of Haxti, the Oglala Sioux girl, see de Smet, 1905, pp. 974-987; Thwaites, Vol. 27, pp. 209-210; George E. Hyde, 1951, p. 164, based largely on Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, Vol. V, p. 77, footnote, also Vol. IV, p. 50. See also, Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98, where it is noted that after the seventeenth month, "they repaired to Cuauhtitlan, where the prisoners of war were

111 lashed to scaffolds, after the manner of the Pawnee of the western plains and killed with arrows." Note Grinnell's, 1925, pp. 363-369, description of such a prisoner sacrifice. Wissler and Spinden,

117 1916, p. 54, show one of the drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz* representing scaffold sacrifice, the manuscript preserved in the National Museum of Mexico City and attributed to the Cuicatecan

319 tribe of the State of Guerrero. They estimate that the time must have been between 1506 and 1519—1506 when it appears in the Aztec codices for the first time and 1519 when the arrival of the Spaniards 'cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the

330 Mexicans . . .' (p. 55). See Irving's, 1955, pp. 184-188, account of sacrifice of a Cheyenne woman captive, especially the annotated footnotes.

84 Murie-Wissler manuscript, pp. 442-428, claims that after the new corn plant (*kurahus*, priest) was gathered in the spring, a new-fire ceremony was held and that the people let their fire die out and cleared out the ashes. The people are said to have gone off to a place where they made a new fire ceremony (p. 431). They state it was connected with a scalp ritual. I have no record of such a ceremony.

97 The only explanation of the use of loon necks and deer heads as hoeing implements in the *Awari* or Ground-breaking ceremony is possibly the statement of Will and Hyde, 1917, p. 269, that

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97 Maximillian reports that in the spring corn ceremony among the Mandan, wild goose signified maize, swans represented the gourds and the duck, the beans. It may well be that the deer and the loon represented the squash and beans respectively among the Pawnees at some time. There was no known symbolism connected with these essential food plants at the time of my report, the concentration being entirely on the maize.

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100 The *Awari* songs are from the Murie-Wissler manuscript, in my retranscription and translation as it appears there.

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102 Oehler and Smith, 1914. On May 8th, 1851: "Early in the morning we were awakened by the shrill voices of the Pawnee women, who were engaged in cleaning up the lodge and collecting their hoes, previous to going out to the fields to prepare the ground for planting corn."

243

105 Weltfish, 1937. From the Pawnee texts; old man speaks to the women (pp. 29-30); a little girl goes into the fields with her mother (p. 30); Pawnee women as horticulturists (pp. 27-28).

106 Adapted from Murie-Wissler, pp. 308-325, as well as from other

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107 sources. The foot painted on the warrior's forehead represented the Pawnee astronomical constellation known as bird, *rikutiki*, which was said to be on the Milky Way itself, but is otherwise unidentified. The Tsawi Band calls Cassiopeia, turkey foot, but the Skidi Band calls it rabbit, *parus*. See Dunbar, 1881, p. 744.

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113-114 Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98.

106 See Drucker, Heizer, and Squier, 1959, for the time depth of elaborate formal religion in Mexico at La Venta, Tabasco, southeastern Mexico near the Gulf. The structures have been radiocarbon dated at 800–400 B.C. and show a high degree of religious organization and complex symbolism that can be clearly inferred from the archaeological remains.

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122 It took milennia to evolve the current uses of maize among the Pawnees. At La Perra cave where some of the earliest examples of North American domesticated corn have been found (radiocarbon dated 4445 ± 180 B.C.) some steps in patterns of utilization indicated in the finds are: (a) chewing young ears husks and all shortly after pollination—wasteful, but quick and simple way of getting a little sugar; (b) roasting the ears of green corn; (c) making parched corn; (d) removing kernels from cob, shown with glumes battered and broken as though the ears were forced across a rough surface or beaten with a stick; (e) maize apparently pounded, inferred from the finding of stone mortars. (Mangelsdorf, MacNeish, Galinat, 1956, pp. 145-146).

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121 Mangelsdorf, 1958; Mangelsdorf, 1964.

122 Walster, 1956.

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113 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917.

116 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explaining that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water. Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation (1925, pp. 141-161).

117, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making.

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not genuinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descriptive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;* Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof, *Askats;* Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Trus-katit;* White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkats;* Red Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Riks-patsa.* Horses were never buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the horse.

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They were: Wide Feet, *As-katarihu';* White Spotted, *Parat-taka;* Bear Head, *Kuruks-paksu;* Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat;* Hate-His-Tail, *Pits-tatur-ritku;* Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats;* Wooly, *Pararus;* Snub Nose, *Trus-kataku;* Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.* Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross, 1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march pulling the travois in 1834–1836. The Pawnees were able to identify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties.

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accompanied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

NOTES AND COMMENTS

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An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

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See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

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The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

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On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

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Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

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Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home